THE

WORKS

OF

M. DE VOLTAIRE.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

WITH

NOTES, HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL.

BY T. SMOLLETT, M. D.

T. FRANCKLIN, M. A. AND OTHERS.

IN TWENTY-FOUR VOLUMES.

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TO HER

SERENE HIGHNESS

THE

DUTCHESS OF S— G—.

MADAM,

IT was in obedience to the orders of your Serene Highneſs, that I undertook the abridgement of the Hiſtory of the Empire, which would have had much more merit, had my ſtay at your court been of long duration; as I ſhould have been better qualified to deſcribe virtue, eſpecially that human and ſocial virtue which derives additional luſtre from wit and beauty; though this indeed has but ſmall influence over hiſtory. Ambition diſguiſed under the ſpecious name of intereſt of ſtates, which, however, it ſerves only to involve in misfortunes, and thoſe ferocious paſſions, by which politics have been almoſt always conducted, leave very little room for the mild virtues that ſeek to dwell with tranquillity and peace. The world abounds with troubles and with crimes, and hiſtory is no other than a picture of the outrages and diſtreſſes of mankind. It is of conſequence to all the nations of Europe to make themſelves acquainted with the revolutions of the Empire. The hiſtories of France, England, Spain, and Poland, are confined within their own boundaries: but the Empire is a more extenſive theatre: her prerogatives, her pretenſions, and rights over Rome and Italy, the number of kings and ſovereigns ſhe hath made, the

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dignities ſhe hath conferred in other ſtates, and her almoſt continual aſſemblies of ſo many princes, form an auguſt ſcene, even in the moſt unpoliſhed ages. But the detail of thoſe particulars is immenſe; and men of buſineſs have too little time to peruſe that prodigious aſſemblage of incidents which throng upon one another, and thoſe collections of laws which have been rendered contradictory by intended explanation.

The juſtneſs of your judgment prompted you to deſire the peruſal of annals, which ſhould be equally entertaining and conciſe, ſo as to give a general idea of the Empire, in a language which is underſtood by all nations, and embelliſhed by the graces of your pronunciation; and the orders of your Serene Highneſs might have, doubtleſs, been obeyed with more ſucceſs, but not with more zeal and veneration.

A Letter from M. de V—— to Mr. de —— Profeſſor of Hiſtory.

Sir,

YOU muſt have perceived that the pretended Univerſal Hiſtory printed at the Hague, and ſaid to be carried down to Charles V. though it contains leſs than the title promiſes, by more than a whole century, was not originally intended to ſee the light. It is no other than a crude collection made in the courſe of old ſtudies, in which I was engaged, about fifteen years ago, with a perſon of a moſt reſpectable character, far tranſcending her ſex and the age in which ſhe lived, whoſe underſtanding comprehended all ſorts of eruditi-on, and whoſe judgment was reinforced by taſte, without which that erudition would have been inſipid, and ſcarce entitled to the name of merit.

I prepared that ground-work ſolely for her uſe and my own, as may be plainly ſeen by conſidering the beginning: it is an account to which I freely call myſelf, of what I had been reading; the beſt method of learning and acquiring diſtinct ideas: for a bare reading alone leaves little more than a confuſed picture in the memory.

My principal aim was to trace the revolutions of the human underſtanding in thoſe of governments.

I endeavoured to diſcover in what manner ſo many bad men, conducted by worſe princes, have notwithſtanding, at the long run, eſtabliſhed ſocieties, in which the arts and ſciences, and even the virtues, have been cultivated.

I attempted to find the paths of commerce, that privately repairs the ruins which ſavage conquerors leave behind them; and I ſtudied to know from the price of proviſions, the riches or poverty of a people: above all things, I examined in what manner the arts revived and ſupported themſelves in the midſt of ſuch deſolation.

The character of nations is ſtrongly marked by poetry and eloquence. I tranſlated paſſages from ſome of the antient oriental poets; and ſtill remember one from the Perſian Sadi, upon the power of the Supreme Being, in which we ſee the ſame genius that inſpired the Arabian, Hebrew, and all oriental writers; that is, more imagination than propriety; more of the *fuſtian* than the ſublime: their diction is figurative, but their figures are often very ill arranged; their ſallies of imagination are hitherto vague and ſuperficial; and they are utterly ignorant of the art of tranſition. This is the paſſage from Sadi in blank verſe:

" He knows diſtinctly that which never was;
His ear is fill'd with what was never heard;
A monarch he, that needs no kneeling ſlave;
A judge, that executes no written law;
With his omniſcience, like a graver's tool,
He trac'd our features in each mother's womb:
From morn to eve he leads the ſun along,
With rubies ſows the mountain's mighty maſs:
He takes two drops of water; one ſtarts up
A perfect man, the other ſhines a pearl.
He ſpoke the word and being ſprung from nought:
His word the univerſe will quickly melt:
Into th' immenſity of ſpace and void:
His word will raiſe the univerſe again,
From depths of nothing to the plains of Being."

Sadi was a native of Bactriana, and cotemporary with Dantè, who was born in Florence in the year 1265, and whoſe verſes did honour to Italy, even when there was not one good proſe author among all our modern nations. This genius happened to riſe at a time when the quarrels between the empire and the church had left rankling wounds in different ſtates, as well as in the minds of men. He was a Ghibelline, conſequently perſecuted by the Guelphs; therefore we muſt not be ſurpriſed to find him venting his chagrin in his poem to this effect:

" Two

" Two ſuns of old, in one united blaze,
Diffus'd their genial warmth and cheering rays,
That baniſh'd darkneſs, and diſplay'd the road
Which leads bewilder'd man to truth and God.
Th' imperial eagle's rights were plainly ſhewn,
And the lamb's ſep'rate privileges known:
But now no more that light congenial ſhines;
One, dim'd with vapours, from his orb declines;
With duſky flame and heat unhallowed teems,
Ambitious to eclipſe the other's beams;
War, blood, contention, and confuſion reign;
The lamb now roars, a lion on the plain,
Proud in his purple robes uſurp'd appears,
And with the ſhepherd's crook the ſov'reign's ſceptre wears."

I tranſlated above twenty pretty long paſſages from Dantè, Petrarch, and Arioſto; and with a view to compare the genius of a nation with that of her imitators, I culled ſome parallel verſes from Spenſer, of which I endeavoured to preſerve the ſenſe and ſpirit with the utmoſt exactneſs. Thus I purſued the arts in their career.

Without engaging in the vaſt labyrinth of philoſophical abſurdities, which have been ſo long honoured with the name of ſcience, I only took notice of the moſt palpable errors which had been miſtaken for the moſt inconteſtible truths; and confining myſelf intirely to the uſeful arts, I ſtill kept in view the hiſtory of all the diſcoveries which had been made from Geber the Arabian, who invented Algebra, to the very laſt miracles of our own time.

This part of the hiſtory was doubtleſs the favourite of my attention, and the revolutions of ſtates were no more than acceſſory to thoſe of the arts and ſciences. This whole work, which had coſt me ſo much trouble, having been ſtolen from me ſome years ago, I was the more chagrined, as I found myſelf abſolutely incapable of beginning again ſuch a tedious and toiſome taſk.

That part, which was purely hiſtorical, remained in my hands an undigeſted maſs: it is brought down to

the reign of Philip II. and ought to be continued to the age of Lewis XIV.

This ſeries of hiſtory, diſincumbered of all the details which commonly obſcure the plan, as well as of all thoſe minute circumſtances of war, ſo intereſting at the time, but ſo tedious afterwards, together with the ſmaller occurrences which never fail to injure the great events, ought to compoſe a vaſt picture, which, by ſtriking the imagination might aſſiſt the memory.

Several perſons expreſſed a deſire of having the manuſcript imperfect as it was; and indeed there are above thirty copies of it, which I gave the more willingly, becauſe, finding myſelf unable to work longer on the ſubject, I conſidered them as ſo many materials put into the hands of thoſe who might finiſh the performance.

When Mr. de la Bruiere had the privilege of the French Mercury about the year 1747, he begged of me ſome ſheets which appeared in his journal, and were afterwards collected in the year 1751; for they make collections of every thing. What relates to the Cruſades, which was but a part of the work, they inſerted in this collection as a detached piece, and the whole was printed very incorrectly under the prepoſterous title of A Plan of the Hiſtory of the human Underſtanding. This pretended plan of the hiſtory of the human underſtanding contains no more than ſome hiſtorical chapters relating to the ninth and tenth centuries.

A bookſeller at the Hague having found a more complete manuſcript, has printed it under the title of An Abridgment of the Univerſal Hiſtory, from the Time of Charles the Great, to the reign of Charles V. although it goes not ſo far as Lewis XI. king of France: probably he had no more copy, or was reſolved to ſuſpend the publication of his third volume, until the two firſt ſhould be ſold off.

He ſays, he bought the manuſcript of a man who lives at Bruſſels; and indeed I was informed, that a domeſtic, belonging to his highneſs prince Charles of Lorrain, had been long in poſſeſſion of a copy which fell into his hands by a very remarkable accident; for it was taken in a box among the equipage of a certain prince, which

which was pillaged by the huſſars in a battle fought in Bohemia. This work, being therefore got by the right of war, is a lawful prize: but one would imagine the ſame huſſars had directed the printing; for it is ſtrangely diſfigured, and the moſt intereſting chapters are totally wanting; almoſt all the dates are falſe, and the proper names for the moſt part diſguiſed. There are many expreſſions which convey no idea, and a number that convey ſuch as are either ridiculous or indecent. The tranſitions, the connections are miſplaced. I am often made to ſay that which is quite contrary to what I have ſaid; and I cannot conceive how any body ſhould read that work as it hath been preſented to the public. I am very glad that the bookſeller has found his account in the ſale of it; but, if he had conſulted me on this ſubject, I would have enabled him to oblige the world with a work that would not have been ſo defective; and, ſeeing it was impoſſible to ſtop the impreſſion, I would have taken all imaginable pains to arrange that uninformed maſs, which, in its preſent condition, does not deſerve the notice of any ſenſible man *.

As I did not believe that any bookſeller would have run the riſque of publiſhing ſuch an imperfect work, I frankly own I have made uſe of ſome of the materials to build a more regular and ſolid edifice. One of the moſt reſpectable princeſſes of Germany, to whom I could refuſe nothing, having done me the honour to deſire I would write the annals of the Empire, I have made no ſcruple to inſert a ſmall number of pages from that pretended Univerſal Hiſtory, in the work which ſhe commanded me to compoſe.

While I was buſied in giving her Serene Highneſs this proof of my obedience, and the Annals of the Empire were almoſt already printed off, I underſtood that a certain German, who was laſt year at Paris, had employed his talents on the ſame ſubject, and that his work was ready to appear. Had I known the circumſtance ſooner, I ſhould certainly have put a ſtop to the impreſſion of

* Since the publication of theſe annals, Mr. de Voltaire has given a complete edition of his hiſtorical tracts, the ſame which we have tranſlated.

mine: for I know he is more equal than I to ſuch an enterprize, and I am very far from pretending to enter the liſts with ſuch a rival; but the bookſeller to whom I have made a preſent of my manuſcript, has taken too much pains in ſerving me, to be deprived of the fruits of his labour: beſides the taſte and manner in which I have wrote theſe Annals of the Empire, being altogether different from the method obſerved by that learned gentleman, whom I have had the honour to mention, perhaps the underſtanding reader may not be ſorry to ſee *the ſame truths* diſplayed in different lights.

ADVER-

ADVERTISEMENT.

THESE ſhort annals contain all the principal events ſince the renewal of the Empire of the Weſt. Here we ſee five or ſix kingdoms vaſſals to that empire, that long quarrel between the emperors and popes, that of Rome with both, and that obſtinate ſtruggle of the feodal right againſt the ſupreme power. Here we ſee how Rome, that was ſo often on the brink of being ſubdued, eſcaped a foreign yoke, and in what manner that government, which ſubſiſts in Germany, was eſtabliſhed. It is at once the Hiſtory of the Empire and the Church, the detail of Germany and Italy. Germany gave birth to that religion which hath withdrawn ſo many ſtates from the juriſdiction of the Roman church. The ſame country is become the bulwark of the Chriſtian ſtates againſt the Ottomans; ſo that what we call the Empire, is, ſince the time of Charlemagne, the greateſt theatre of Europe.

To the firſt volume is prefixed a catalogue of the emperors, with the year of their birth, acceſſion, and death, together with the names of their wives and children. Oppoſite to this is a liſt of the popes, moſtly characterized by the principal actions of their lives, and marked with the year of their exaltation; ſo that the reader, with one glance of the eye, may conſult this table, without going in ſearch of the fragments of this liſt at the head of the reign of each emperor. To the ſecond volume is likewiſe prefixed a column of all the electors: but a catalogue of the kings of Europe and the Ottoman emperors, which is ſo eaſily found every-where elſe, would have too much augmented the bulk of the work, which was intended to be equally conciſe and complete.

EMPERORS.

1.

CHarlemagne, born April 10th 742, became emperor in 800, died in 814. His wives were Hildegarde daughter of Childebrant count of Suabia. Irmengarde ſuppoſed to be the ſame with Deſiderata daughter of Didier king of the Lombards. Faſtrada of Franconia. Luitgarde of Suabia. His concubines or wives of the ſecond rank were Ilmetrude, Galienne, Matalgarde, Gerſinde, Regina, Adelaide, and many others. His children were Charles king of Germany, died in 771. Pepin king of Italy, died in 810. Father of Bernard king of Italy, ſtock of the houſe of Vermandois, diſpoſſeſſed, deprived of his eye-ſight and died in 818.

Lewis the Pious, the *Debonnaire*, or the *weak Emperor*. Rotrude betrothed to Conſtantine V. Emperor of the Eaſt. Bertha married to one of Charlemagne's chancellors. Giſelde, Tetrarde, Hiltrude, ſhut up in a convent

POPES.

Zacharius, exalted in 741. It was he who (it is ſaid) pronounced "that he alone was king who had the kingly power."

Stephen II. or III. exalted in 751, the firſt who ordered himſelf to be carried on men's ſhoulders.

Paul I. 757. in his time the church was divided by the great quarrel about images.

Stephen III. or IV. 768. He diſputed the papacy with Conſtantine, who was a ſecular, and with Philip, and there was abundance of blood-ſhed.

Adrian I. 772. his legates had the firſt ſeat at the ſecond council of Nicea.

Leo III. 795. he conferred the appellation of emperor on Charlemagne on Chriſtmas-day 800, but would not add *Filioque* to the creed. He is ſaid to have introduced the cuſtom of kiſſing the pope's feet.

Stephen

EMPERORS.

vent by Lewis debonnaire. By his concubines he had Drogon biſhop of Metz, Hugo or Hugues the abbot. Pepin the hump-backed, Rathilde, Gertrude. Writers of romance add the fair Emma, of whom they ſay the ſecretary Eginard and Charlemagne himſelf were enamoured.

2.

Lewis the weak, born 778, emperor 814, died 840, June, 20. His wives: Irmengarde, daughter of the count de Hadſbanie. Judith daughter of the count of Suabia. Children: Lotharius the emperor. Pepin king of Aquitain, died 838. Giſelle wife to the count of Burgundy. Lewis king of Germany, died 876. Adelaide wife to a count of Burgundy. Alpaide wife to a count of Paris. Charles the bald, king of France and emperor.

3.

Lotharius I. born 796. Emperor 840, died 855. Wife: Hermengarde daughter to the count de Thionville. Children: Lewis II. emperor. Lotharius king of Lorrain, died 868. Charles king of Burgundy.

POPES.

Stephen IV. or V. 816.

Paſchal I. 817. accuſed of having aſſaſſinated Theodorus the Dean, and obliged to purge himſelf by oath, before the commiſſaries of Lewis the emperor.

Eugenius II. 824. ſurnamed the Father of the poor.

Valentine, 827.

Gregory IV. 828. who deceived Lewis the weak.

Sergius II. 844. who cauſed himſelf to be conſecrated without waiting for the emperor's permiſſion, in order to eſtabliſh the liberty of the Roman church.

Leo IV. 847. he ſaved Rome

EMPERORS.

dy. Hermengarde married to a duke upon the Moſelle.

4.

Lewis II. born 825. Emperor 855, died 875, Auguſt 13. Wife: Ingelbertha daughter of Lewis king of Germany. Children: Hermengarde married to Bozon king of Burgundy.

5.

Charles the Bald, born 823, Emp. 875, d. 877, Oct. 6. Wives: Hirmentrude daughter of Odo duke of Orleans, Richilda daughter of a Count de Bouvines. Children: Lewis the Stammerer. Charles killed in 866. Carloman deprived of his eye-ſight 873. Judith firſt wife to Ethelred king of England, and afterwards married to Baldwin

POPES.

Rome from the Mahometans by his vigilance and courage.

Benedict III. 855. created pope by the aſſiſtance of the Franks, in ſpite of the Roman people. In his time St. Peter's Penny was eſtabliſhed in England.

Nicholas I. 858. In his time began the great ſchiſm between Conſtantinople and Rome

Adrian II. 867. the firſt that cauſed the croſs to be carried before him. The patriarch Photius excommunicated him by way of repriſal.

John VIII. 872. He acknowledged the patriarch Photius; was ſaid to be aſſaſſinated with a hammer.

Marinus

EMPERORS.

Baldwin I. earl of Flanders.

6.

Lewis the Stammerer, born 843. November 1. 878. died 879. April 10. Wives: Anſgarde, Adelaide. Children: Lewis Carloman and Charles the Simple kings of France. Egiſella married to Rollo or Raoul firſt duke of Normandy.

7.

Charles the Groſs, Emperor 880. depoſed 887. died 888. without children.

8.

Arnolphus or *Arnoldus*, born 863. Emperor 887. d. 889. By his miſtreſs Elengarde he had Lewis the Infant or Lewis IV. Emp. Zwentilbolde king of Lorrain. Rapolde, from whom are deſcended the counts d'Andeck and Tirol.

9.

Lewis IV. or *Lewis the Infant*, born 893. Emp. about 900. died 912. without poſterity.

10.

POPES.

Marinus, 882.

Adrian III. 884.

Stephen VI. 884. He forbad the trials by fire and water.

Famoſa, 891.

Stephen VII. 896. ſon of a prieſt. He cauſed the body of his predeceſſor Famoſa to be dug up, decapited and thrown into the Tiber. He was afterwards put in priſon and ſtrangled.

John IX. 897. In his time the Mahometans landed in Calabria.

Benedict IV. 900.

Leo V. 904.

Sergius III. 905. a cruel man; the gallant of Maroſia, daughter of the firſt Theodora, by whom he had pope John XI.

Anaſtaſius

EMPERORS.

10.

Conrad I. Emp. 911. or 912. died 918. Dec. 23. His wife: Cunigonda of Bavaria; by whom he had Arnolphus the Bad, from whom is deſcended the Houſe of Bavaria.

11.

Henry the Fowler duke of Saxony, born 876. Emperor 919. d. 936. His wives: Hatbourge daughter of a count of Merſbourg. Melchtida daughter of a count of Ringelheim. His children: Tancard killed at Merſbourgh 939. the emp. Otho the Great. Geberga married to Giſelberg duke of Lorrain. Aduida married to Hugues count of Paris. Henry duke of Bavaria. Bruno biſhop of Cologn.

12.

Otho I. ſurnamed *the Great*, born Nov. 22. 916. Emperor 936. died 973, May 7. His wives: Edita daughter of Edward king of England. Adelaide daughter of Rodolphus II. king of Burgundy. Children: Lutholf duke of Suabia. Luitgarde married to a duke of Lorrain and

POPES.

Anaſtaſius, 913.

Lando, 914.

John X. 915. the gallant of the young Theodora, by whoſe means he aſcended the papal chair, and by whom he had Creſcentius, the firſt conſul of that name. He was ſtrangled in his bed.

Leo VI. 928.

Stephen VIII. 929. believed to be the ſon of Maroſia, ſhut up in the caſtle which is now called St. Angelo.

John XI. 931. ſon of pope Sergius and Moroſia, under whom his mother governed in a deſpotic manner.

Leo. VII. 936.

Stephen IX. 939. a German by birth, ſlaſhed in the face by the Romans.

Marinus III. 943.

Agapetus, 946.

John XII. 956. ſon of Maroſia and the patrician Albericus; himſelf a patrician: elected pope at the age of 18: oppoſes the

Emperors.	Popes.
and Franconia. Otho II. ſurnamed the Red, emperor. Mathilda abbeſs of Quedlimbourg. Adelaide married to a marquis of Montferrat. Richilda to a count of Eninguen. William archbiſhop of Mentz.	the emperor Otho I. aſſaſſinated in going to the houſe of his miſtreſs. *Leo* VIII. 963. elected by a ſmall council at Rome, in conſequence of Otho's orders. *Benedict* V. 964. expelled immediately after his election, by the emperor Otho I. died in exile at Hamburgh. *John* XIII. 965. expelled from Rome, and afterwards eſtabliſhed. *Benedict* VI. 972. ſtrangled by the conſul Creſcentius, ſon of pope John X.
13. *Otho* II. ſurnamed *the Red*, born 955. emp. 973. died 983. Wife: Theophania daughter-in-law to the emperor Nicephorus. Children: Otho afterwards emperor. Sophia abbeſs of Ganecheim. Mathilda married to a count palatine. Vithilda a natural daughter married to a count of Holland.	*Boniface* VII. 974. was inclined to deliver Rome to the emperors of the Eaſt. *Domus*, 974. *Benedict* VII. 975.
14. *Otho* III. born 973. emp. 983. d. 1002. he is ſuppoſed to have married Mary of Arragon, died without poſterity.	*John* XIV. 984. in the time of Boniface VII. he died in priſon in the caſtle of St. Angelo. *Boniface* VII. re-eſtabliſhed, aſſaſſinated with a poigniard.
15.	*John*

Emperors.	Popes.
	John XV. or XVI. 986. expelled from Rome by the conſul Creſcentius, and re-eſtabliſhed.
	Gregory V. 996. by the nomination of the emperor Otho III.
	Silveſter II. 999. this is the famous Gerberg Auvergnac, archbiſhop of Rheims, a prodigy of learning in thoſe days.
15. *Henry* II. ſurnamed *the Saint*, *the Chaſte*, and *the Lame*, duke of Bavaria, grandſon of Otho the Great, Emperor 1002. died 1024. Wife: Cunigonda daughter of Sigefroi count of Luxemburg, no poſterity.	*John* XVII. 1003.
	John XVIII. 1004.
	Sergius IV. 1009. looked upon as an ornament of the church.
	Benedict VIII. 1012. repulſed the Saracens.
16. *Conrad* II. *the Salique*, of the houſe of Franconia. emp. 1024. died 1039, June 4. Wife: Giſelle of Suabia. Children: Henry afterwards emperor. Beatrix abbeſs of Ganderſheim. Judith, ſaid to have been married to Azon d'Eſte in Italy.	*John* XIX. or XX. 1024. expelled and re-eſtabliſhed.
	Benedict IX. 1033. who purchaſed the third part of the pontificate and afterwards ſold his ſhare.
17. *Henry* III. ſurnamed *the Black*, born Oct. 28. 1017. emp. 1039. d. 1056. Wives: Cunigonda daughter of Canute king of England. Agnes daughter of	*Gregory* VI. 1045. depoſed.
	Clement II. biſhop of Bamberg, 1046. nominated by the emperor Henry II.
	Damaſus

EMPERORS.

of William duke of Aquitain. Children by his ſecond wife: Mathilda married to Rodolphus duke of Suabia. The emperor Henry IV. Conrad duke of Bavaria. Sophia married to Solomon King of Hungary, and afterwards to Uladiſlaus king of Poland. Itha wife of Leopold marquis of Auſtria. Adelaide Abbeſs of Ganderſheim.

18.

Henry IV. born Nov. 11. 1050. Emp. 1056. d. 1106. Wives: Bertha daughter of Otho Savoy called the marquis of Italy. Adelaide of Ruſſia, widow of a margrave of Brandenburg. Children by Bertha: Conrad duke of Lorrain. The emperor Henry V. Agnes wife of Frederic of Suabia. Bertha married to a duke of Carinthia. Adelaide married to Boleſlaus III. king of Poland. Sophia to Godfrey duke of Brabant.

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19.

POPES.

Damaſus II. 1048. nominated by the emperor.

Leo IX. 1048. a virtuous pope.

Victor II. 1055. a great reformer, inſpired and governed by Hildebrand, afterwards Gregory. VII.

Stephen X. 1057. brother to Godfrey duke of Lorrain.

Nicholas II. exalted by force of arms 1056. expelled his competitor Benedict I. who ſubjected Apuglia and Calabria to the holy ſee.

Alexander II. elected by the faction of Hildebrand, without the conſent of the imperial court 1061. In his time happened the aſtoniſhing adventure of the experiment of the ſtone Igneus, whether true, falſe or exaggerated.

Gregory VII. 1078. this is the famous Hildebrand, the firſt pope who rendered the Roman church ſo formidable. He was the victim of his own zeal.

Victor III. 1086. recommended by Gregory VII. at his death.

Urban

EMPERORS.

19.

Henry V. born 1081. Emp. 1106. died 1125, May 23. Wife: Mathilda daughter of Henry I. king of England. Children: Chriſtina wife of Ladiſlaus duke of Sileſia.

20.

Lotharius II. duke of Saxony, Emp. 1125. died 1137. Wife: Richeze daughter of Henry the Groſs, duke of Saxony.

21.

Conrad III. born 1092. Emp. 1138. died 1152, Feb. 15. Wife: Gertrude daughter of a count of Sultzbach. Children: Henry died under age. Frederic count of Rothenbourg.

22.

Frederic I. ſurnamed *Barbaroſſa*, duke of Suabia, born 1121. Emperor 1152. d. 1190. Wives: Adelaide daughter of the marquis of Vohenburg, repudiated. Beatrix daughter of Renauld count of Burgundy. Children: Henry afterwards emperor Frederic

POPES.

Urban II. native of Chatillon ſur Maine, 1087. publiſhed the cruſades contrived by his predeceſſor.

Paſchal II. 1099, followed the footſteps of Gregory VII.

Gelaſius II. 1118. dragged to priſon by the oppoſite faction.

Calixtus III. 1119. finiſhed the great proceſs of the inveſtitures.

Honorius II. 1124.

Innocent II. 1130. almoſt all the elections were double in this age, and the popes were not maſters of Rome.

Celeſtinus II. 1143.

Lucius II. 1144. killed by a ſtone, fighting againſt the Romans.

Eugenius III. 1145. maltreated by the Romans, takes refuge in France.

Anaſtaſius IV. 1153.

Adrian IV. 1154. an Engliſhman, ſon of a mendicant, himſelf a mendicant, becomes a great man.

Alexander III. 1159. humbles the emperor Frederic Barbaroſſa and Henry II. king of England.

Lucius

EMPERORS.

deric duke of Suabia. Conrad duke of Spoleto. Philip afterwards emperor. Otho count of Burgundy. Sophia married to the marquis of Montferrat. Beatrix abbeſs of Quedlimbourg.

23.

Henry VI. born 1165. Emp. 1190. died 1197. Wife: Conſtance daughter of Roger king of Sicily. Children: Frederic afterterwards emperor. Mary wife of Conrad marquis of Mahren.

24.

Philip duke of Suabia, youngeſt ſon of Frederic Barbaroſſa, guardian of Frederic II. born 1181. emp. 1198. died June 21, 1208. Wife: Irene daughter of Iſaac emperor of Conſtantinople. Children: Beatrix wife of Ferdinand III. king of Caſtile. Cunigonda married to Winceſlaus III. king of Bohemia. Mary wife of Henry duke of Brabant. Beatrix died immediately after her marriage with Otho IV. duke of Brunſwick, afterwards emperor.

25.

POPES.

Lucius III. 1181. expelled and purſued by the Romans, who, in receiving the biſhop, would not acknowledge the prince.

Urban III. 1185.

Gregory VIII. 1187. paſſes for a learned, eloquent and honeſt man.

Clement III. 1188. endeavours to reform the clergy.

Celeſtinus III. 1191. forbad the emperor Henry VI. to be buried.

Innocent III. 1198. laid France under interdiction. In his time was the cruſade againſt the Albigenſes.

Honorius

EMPERORS.

25.

Otho IV. duke of Brunſwick, Emp. 1198. died 1218. Second wife Mary daughter of Henry the Virtuous duke of Brabant, died without poſterity.

26.

Frederic II. duke of Suabia, king of the two Sicilies, born Dec. 26, 1193. Emp. 1212. died 1250, Dec. 13. Wives: Conſtance daughter of Alphonſus II. king of Arragon. Violenta daughter of John de Brienne king of Jeruſalem. Iſabella daughter of John king of England. Children: Henry king of the Romans died in priſon 1236. Conrad afterwards emperor, father of Conradin in whom the houſe of Suabia was extinct. Henry governor of Sicily. Margaret wife of Albert the Depraved, landgrave of Turingia and Marquis of Miſnia. By his miſtreſſes he had Enzio king of Sardinia. Manfredo king of Sicily. Frederic prince of Antioch.

27.

Conrad IV. Emperor 1250. died 1254. Wife: Elizabeth daughter of Otho count Palatine. His ſon Conradin duke of Suabia, heir to the kingdom of Sicily,

POPES.

Honorius III. 1216. began to thwart Frederic II.

Gregory IX. 1227. expelled by the Romans, excommunicated and thought to depoſe Frederic II.

Celeſtinus IV. 1241.

Innocent IV. 1243. excommunicated Frederic II. and thought to depoſe him at the council of Lions.

Alexander IV. 1245. who protected the mendicant monks againſt the univerſity of Paris.

Urban IV. 1261. was at firſt a cobler at Troye in Champagne;

EMPERORS.

cily, whom Charles of Anjou cauſed to be decapitated at the age of 27, Oct. 19, 1268.

(*Alphonſus* X king of Spain, and *Richard* duke of Cornwall, ſon of Lackland, were both elected in 1257, but are not reckoned among the emperors.)

28.

Rodolphus, count of Habſbourg in Swiſſerland, anceſtor of the houſe of Auſtria, born 1218. Emp. 1273. d. 1291. Wives: Anne Gertrude of Bohenberg. Agnes daughter of Otho count of Burgundy. Children: Albert duke of Auſtria, afterwards emperor. Rodolphus ſuppoſed to have been duke of Suabia. Herman drowned in the Rhine at the age of 18. Frederic who died without iſſue. Charles who died under age. Rodolphus who died in his infancy. Mechtilda married to Lewis the Severe, duke of Bavaria. Agnes who married Albert II. duke of Saxony. Hedwige wife of Otho marquis of Brandenbourg. Gutha married to Winceſlaus king of Bohemia, ſon of Ottocarus. Clemence married to Charles Martel king of

POPES.

Champagne; and the firſt who called Charles of Anjou to Naples.

Clement IV. 1264. It is pretended that he adviſed the murder of Conradin and the duke of Auſtria, by the hand of the hangman.

Gregory X. 1271. he eſtabliſhed ſevere laws for holding of the conclaves.

Innocent V. 1276.

Adrian V. 1276.

John XXI. 1276. was ſaid to be a good phyſician.

Nicholas III. 1277. of the houſe of Urſini. Before his death he is ſaid to have adviſed the Sicilian veſpers.

Martin IV. 1281. as ſoon as he was pope, he cauſed himſelf to be elected ſenator of Rome, that his authority might be the greater.

Honorius IV. 1285. of the houſe of Savelli: eſpouſed the French party in Sicily.

Nicholas IV. 1288. in his time the Chriſtians were entirely expelled from Syria.

Celeſtinus

Emperors.	Popes.
of Hungary, grandſon of Charles I. king of Naples and Sicily. Margaret wife of Theodoric count of Cleves. Catharine married to Otho duke of Lower Bavaria ſon of Henry brother to Lewis the Severe, and Euphemia a nun.	
29. *Adolphus* of Naſſau, Emperor 1292. d. 1298, July 2. Wife: Imagina daughter of Jorlach count of Limbourg. Children: Henry who died young. Robert of Naſſau. Jorlach of Naſſau. Valdrame Adolpha. Adelaide. Imagina. Mathilda Philippa.	*Celeſtinus* V. 1292. Benedictus Caietanus perſuaded him to abdicate.
	Boniface VIII. (Benedictus Caietanus). 1294. confined his predeceſſor: excommunicated Philip the Fair: aſſumed the title of Maſter of all kings; cauſed two ſwords to be carried before him: put two crowns on his head, and inſtituted the Jubilee.
30. *Albert* I. of Auſtria, Emp. 1298. died 1308. Wife: Elizabeth daughter of Menard duke of Carinthia and count of Tirol. Children: Frederic the Beau afterwards emperor. Albert the Wiſe, duke of Auſtria.	*Clement* V. (Bertrand de Gott) native of Bourdeaux, 1305: perſecuted the templars: all ſorts of benefices are ſaid to have been ſold at his court.
31. *Henry* VII. of the houſe of Luxembourg. Emp. 1308. died 1313. Wives: Margaret daughter of a duke of Brabant. Catharine daughter of Albert of	

John

EMPERORS.

of Auſtria, only betrothed before his death. Children: John king of Bohemia.

32.

Lewis V. of Bavaria, Emp. 1314. died 1347. Wives: Beatrix of Glaugau. Margaret counteſs of Holland. Children: Lewis the Ancient, margrave of Brandenburg. Stephen the Curled, duke of Bavaria. Mechtilda wife of Frederic the Severe, marquis of Miſnia. Elizabeth married to John duke of Lower Bavaria. William count of Holland by his mother, grew mad. Albert count of Holland. Lewis the Roman, marquis of Brandenbourg. Otho marquis of Brandenbourg.

33.

Charles IV. of the houſe of Luxembourg, born 1316. Emp. 1347, died 1378. Wives: Blanche de Valois, Anne Palatine. Ann of Sileſia. Elizabeth of Pomerania. Children: Winceſlaus afterwards emperor. Sigiſmund afterwards emperor. John marquis of Brandenbourg.

34.

POPES.

John XXII. 1316. ſon of a cobler of Cahors, called d'Eus, who is reckoned to have ſold a greater number of benefices than his predeceſſor, and who had great credit in Europe, without having any at Rome. He always reſided near the Rhone: wrote upon the philoſopher's ſtone, but really had it in ready money. It was he who added a third crown to the Tiara.

Benedict XII. (Jacques Fournier) 1334. reſided at Avignon.

Clement VI. (Pierre Roger) 1342. reſided at Avignon, which he bought of queen Jane.

Innocent VI. Stephen Aubert) 1352. reſided at Avignon.

Urban V. (William Grimaud) 1362. reſided at Avignon: made a journey to Rome, where, however, he durſt not ſettle.

Gregory XI. (Roger de Momon) 1370. transferred the holy ſee to Rome again, where he was received as lord of the city.

A great

EMPERORS.

34.

Winceſlaus, born 1361. Emp. 1308. depoſed 1400. died 1419. Wives: Jane and Sophia of the houſe of Bavaria: no poſterity.

35.

Robert Count Palatine of of the Rhine, Emp. 1400. d. 1410. Wife: Elizabeth daughter of a burgrave of Nuremberg. Children: Robert, who died before his father. Lewis the bearded and blind, Elector. Frederic count of Hamberg. Elizabeth married to a duke of Auſtria, Agnes to a count of Cleves. Margaret to a duke of Lorrain. John Count Palatine Zimmeren.

36.

Jodocus marquis of Brandenburg and Moravia, Emp. 1410. died three months after.

37.

Sigiſmund brother to Winceſlaus born 1368. Emp. 1411. died 1437 Wives: Mary heireſs of Hungary and Bohemia. Barba counteſs of Sille. Children: Elizabeth daughter of Mary heireſs of Hungary and Bohemia, married to the emperor Albert II. of Auſtria.

38

POPES.

A great ſchiſm begins in 1378. between Prignano, Urban VI. and Robert of Geneva, Clement VII. This ſchiſm continues from competitor to competitor to 1417.

Martin V. (Colonna) 1417. elected by the council of Conſtance: pacified Rome, and recovered a great many dominions to the holy ſee.

Eugene IV. (Gondelmore) 1431, ſuppoſed ſon of Gregory XII. one of the popes of the great ſchiſm: triumphed over the council

EMPERORS.

38.

Albert II. of Auſtria, born 1399. Emp. 1438. d. 1439. Wife: Elizabeth daughter of Sigiſmund, heireſs of Bohemia and Hungary. Children: George who died young. Anne married to a duke of Saxony. Elizabeth to a prince of Poland. Ladiſlaus Poſthumus king of Bohemia and Hungary.

39.

Frederic of Auſtria, born 1415. Emp. 1440. d. 1493. Wife: Eleonora daughter of the king of Portugal. Children: Maximilian afterwards emperor. Cunigonda married to a duke of Bavaria.

POPES.

cil of Baſil, which depoſed him in vain.

Nicholas V. (Sarzane) 1447. made the concordat with the empire.

Calixtus III. (Borgia) 1455. the firſt who ſent gallies againſt the Ottomans.

Pius II. (Æneas Sylvius Picolomini) 1458. during the council of Baſil, he wrote againſt the power of the holy ſee, and retracted when he became pope.

Paul II. (Barbo a Venetian) 1464. augmented the number and honours of cardinals; inſtituted publick games, and the Minim friars.

Sixtus IV. (de la Rovere) 1471. encouraged the conſpiracy of the Pazzi againſt the Medicis: repaired the bridge of Antoninus,

EMPERORS.

40.

Maximilian I. of Auſtria, born 1459, king of the Romans 1486, Emp. 1493, d. 1519, Jan. 12. Wives: Mary heireſs of Burgundy, and the Low-Countries. Blanche Maria Sforza. Children: Philip the Beau of Auſtria king of Spain by his Wife. Francis died in the cradle. Margaret promiſed to Charles the VIII. king of France, governante of the Low-Countries, married to John ſon of Ferdinand king of Spain, and afterwards to Philibert duke of Savoy. He had no children by Blanche Sforza, but he had ſix baſtards by his concubines.

41.

Charles V. born Feb. 24, 1500. king of Spain, 1516. Emp. 1519, abdicated June 2, 1556. d. Sept.

POPES.

toninus, and laid a tax upon courtezans.

Innocent VIII. (Cibo) 1484. married before he was a prieſt, and had a number of children.

Alexander VI. (Borgia) 1491. his miſtreſs Vanoſia, his daughter Lucretia, his ſon the duke of Valentinois, are very well known, as well as the means he uſed to aggrandize that ſon, which redounded to the advantage of the holy ſee.

Pius III. (Picolomini) 1503. in electing this man, they deceived cardinal d'Amboiſe, prime miniſter of France, who thought himſelf ſecure of the Tiara.

Julius II. (de la Rovere) 1503. augmented the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, and was a warrior who wanted nothing but an army.

Leo X. (Medicis) 1513. a lover of the arts; magnificent and voluptuous; under him the Chriſtian religion was divided into ſeveral ſects.

Adrian VI. (Florentius Boyens of Utrecht) 1521. preceptor to Charles V. hated by the Romans, becauſe

EMPERORS.

Sept. 21, 1558. Wife: Iſabella daughter of Emanuel king of Portugal. Children: Philip II. king of Spain, Naples and Sicily, duke of Milan, ſovereign of the Low Countries. Jane married to John infant of Portugal. Mary wife of the emperor Maximilian II. his own couſin. Baſtards known: Don John of Auſtria, famous in war; and Margaret of Auſtria, married to Alexander duke of Florence, and afterwards to Octavius duke of Parma. Theſe two children are ſuppoſed to have been born of a princeſs very nearly related to Charles V.

42.

Ferdinand I. brother of Charles V. born March 10, 1503. king of the Romans 1531.

POPES.

cauſe a ſtranger. At his death was found written on his phyſician's door, "To the deliverer of his "country."

Clement VII. (Medicis) 1523. in his time Rome was ſacked, and England detached itſelf from the Roman church.

Paul III. (Farneſe) 1534. gave Parma and Placentia to his baſtard; and this was the cauſe of much trouble. He believed in judicial aſtrology, more than all the princes of his time.

Julius III. (Ghiocchi) 1550. It was he who made a cardinal of his ape-bearer, whom they called cardinal Simia. He is ſaid to have been a great voluptuary.

Marcellus II. (Cervin) 1555. his exaltation laſted but twelve Days.

Paul IV. (Caraffa) 1555. elected after the age of fourſcore: his nephews governed every thing. The inquiſition was violent at Rome, and after his death the people burned the priſons of that tribunal.

Pius IV. (Medequino) 1559. cauſed Caraffa, nephew to his predeceſſor,

EMPERORS.

1531. Emp. 1556. died July 25, 1564. Wife: Anne ſiſter of Lewis king of Hungary and Bohemia. By her he had fifteen children: Maximilian afterwards emperor. Elizabeth married to Sigiſmund Auguſtus king of Poland. Anne to the duke of Bavaria Albert V. Mary to William duke of Juliers. Magdalen a nun. Catharine firſt married to Francis duke of Mantua, and afterwards to Sigiſmund Auguſtus king of Poland, after her ſiſter's death. Eleonora married to William duke of Mantua. Margaret a nun. Barba married to Alphonſus II. duke of Ferrara. Helen a nun. Jane wife of Francis duke of Florence. Ferdinand duke of Tyrol, Charles duke of Stiria, Jane and Urſula died in their infancy.

43.

Maximilian II. of Auſtria, born Auguſt 1, 1527. Emp. 1564. d. Oct. 12, 1576. Wife: Mary daughter of Charles V. by whom he had fifteen children: Rodolphus afterwards emperor. Erneſtus archduke. Matthias afterwards emperor. Maximilian archduke.

POPES.

to be ſtrangled: nepotiſm prevailed as much under him as under Paul IV.

Pius V. (Giſleri Dominican). 1566. cauſed Zoannetti Carneſeccli and Palarius to be burnt; had great Quarrels with Queen Elizabeth.

Gregory XIII. (Buoncompagno) 1572. the firſt year of his pontificate is famous for the maſſacre of

EMPERORS.

duke. Albert who married the Infanta Clara Eugenia. Winceſlaus who died at the age of ſeventeen. Anne wife of Philip II. king of Spain. Elizabeth wife of Charles IX. king of France. Margaret a nun, and ſix children that died in the cradle.

44.

Rodolphus II. born July 18, 1552. Emp. 1576. d. 1612, Jan. 10. unmarried, though he had five natural children.

POPES.

of St. Bartholomew, for which two bonfires were made at Rome. He gave to James Buoncompagno, his baſtard, abundance of wealth and dignities, but he did not diſmember the eccleſiaſtical ſtate in his favour.

Sixtus V. ſon of a poor huſbandman called Peretti, 1585. finiſhed the church of St. Peter; embelliſhed Rome, and in the ſpace of five years that he governed, left five millions of crowns in the caſtle of St. Angelo.

Urban VII. (Caſtagna) 1590.

Gregory XIV. (Sfondrat) 1590. ſent aſſiſtance to the league in France.

Innocent XI. (Santiquatro) 1591.

Clement VIII. (Aldobrandino) 1592. He gave abſolution and diſcipline to Henry IV. king of France, on the backs of the cardinals Du Perron and d'Oſſat; and ſeized upon the duchy of Ferrara.

Paul V. (Borgheſe) 1605. excommunicated Venice, and afterwards repented of what he had done; built the palace of Borgheſe, and

45.

Emperors.	Popes.
Matthias, brother of Rodolphus, born 1557, Feb. 24. Emp. 1612. died 1619, March 20. Wife: Anne daughter of Ferdinand of Tyrol, died without poſterity.	embelliſhed the city of Rome.
46.	
Ferdinand II. ſon of Charles archduke of Stiria and Carinthia and grandſon of the emperor Ferdinand I. born July 9, 1578. Emp. 1619. d. 1637, Feb. 15. Wives: Mary-Anne daughter of William duke of Bavaria. Eleonora daughter of Vincent duke of Mantua. Children by Anne: John Charles died at fourteen. Ferdinand afterwards emperor. Mary-Anne wife of Maximilian duke of Bavaria. Cecilia Renee married to Uladiſlaus king of Poland. Leopold William who poſſeſſed ſeveral biſhoprics. Chriſtiana who died young.	*Gregory* XV. (Ludoviſio) 1621. helped to pacify the troubles of the Valteline. *Urban* VIII. (Barberino) a Florentine, 1623. paſſed for a good Latin poet. His nephews governed, and made war upon the duke of Parma.
47.	
Ferdinand III. born July 13, 1608. Emp. 1637. d. 1657. Wives: Mary-Anne daughter of Philip III. king of Spain. Mary Leopoldina daughter of Leopold archduke of Tyrol. Eleonora daughter of Charles II. duke of Mantua. Children: Ferdinand king of the Romans died at	*Innocent* X. (Pamphili) 1644. his pontificate was a long time governed by his ſiſter-in-law Dona Olympia. *Alexander* VII. (Chigi) 1655. made new embelliſhments in Rome. *Clement*

EMPERORS.

at the age of twenty-one. Mary-Anne wife of Philip IV. king of Spain. Philip, Auguſtin and Maximilian Thomas who died in their infancy. Leopold afterwards emperor. Mary died in the cradle. Charles Joſeph biſhop of Paſſau. Tereſa Maria died young. Eleonora Maria who being widow of Michael king of Poland, married Charles duke of Lorrain. Mary-Anne wife of the Elector Palatine. Ferdinand Joſeph died in his infancy.

48.

Leopold, born 1640, June 9. Emp. 1658. d. May 5, 1705. Wives: Margaret Tereſa daughter of Philip IV. of Spain. Claudia Felicita daughter of Ferdinand Charles duke of Tyrol. Eleonora Magdalen daughter of Philip William Count Palatine duke of Neubourg. Children by Margaret Tereſa. Ferdinand Winceſlaus died in the cradle. Mary Antonietta wife of Maximilian Mary elector of Bavaria. Three other daughters who died in their infancy. Children by Eleonora Magdalen of Neuburg. Joſeph afterwards emperor. Mary Elizabeth governante of the

POPES.

Clement IX. (Roſpighoſi) 1667. was deſirous of putting the finances of Rome in order.

Clement X. (Altieri) 1670. in his time began the quarrel of the Regale in France.

Innocent XI. (Odeſcalchi) 1676. was always an enemy to Lewis XIV. and eſpouſed the party of the emperor Leopold.

Alexander VIII. (Ottoboni) 1689.

Innocent XII. [Pignatelli) 1691. adviſed Charles II. king of Spain, to make his will in favour of the houſe of Bourbon.

Clement XI. (Albano) 1700. was obliged againſt his

EMPERORS.

the Low-Countries. Leopold Joſeph who died in his infancy. Mary-Anne wife of John V. king of Portugal. Mary Tereſa died at twelve years of age. Charles afterwards emperor, and three daughters who died young.

POPES.

his will to acknowledge Charles VI. as king of Spain.

EMPERORS.

49.

Joſeph, born July 26, 1678. king of the Romans 1690, at twelve years of age. Emp. 1705. d. 1711, April, 17. Wife: Amelia daughter of John Frederic duke of Hanover. Children: Mary Joſephina married to Frederic Auguſtus king of Poland, elector of Saxony. Leopold Joſeph who died in the cradle. Mary Amelia married to the electoral prince of Bavaria.

50.

Charles VI. born Oct. 1, 1685. Emp. 1711. d. 1740. Wife: Elizabeth Chriſtina daughter of Lewis Rodolphus duke of Brunſwick. Children: Leopold who died in his infancy. Mary Tereſa who married Francis of Lorrain, Feb. 12, 1736. Mary-Anne married to Charles of Lorrain. Mary Amelia died in her infancy. Charles VI. was the laſt prince of the houſe of Auſtria.

ANNALS

ANNALS
OF THE
EMPIRE
FROM THE TIME OF
CHARLEMAGNE.

INTRODUCTION.

OF all the revolutions which have changed the face of the earth, that alone, which transferred the empire of the Romans to Charlemagne, ſeems to have been juſt, if the word *juſt* may be pronounced of events which partook ſo much of violence. Charlemagne was actually called to the empire by the voice of the Roman people, whom he had at once ſaved from the tyranny of the Lombards, and the negligence of the eaſtern emperors.

This is the great epocha of the weſtern nations; at this time a new order of government began, the foundation of the temporal power of the church; for no biſhop in the eaſt had ever been a prince, or poſſeſſed any of the rights of royalty. This new Roman empire bore no reſemblance to that of the firſt Cæſars. In theſe annals will be ſeen the true nature of this empire, how the Roman pontiffs acquired that temporal power, with which they have been ſo much reproached; how ſo many weſtern biſhops, eſpecially thoſe of Germany, erected themſelves into ſovereigns; and in what manner the Roman people ſtruggled to preſerve their liberty between the emperors and popes, who diſputed with one another the dominion of Rome.

All the Weſt, ſince the fifth century, was either barbarous or deſolate; ſo many nations, formerly ſubdued by the antient Romans, had at leaſt lived till the fifth century in a ſtate of happy ſubjection. It is a ſingular example in all ages, that conquerors ſhould have built for the conquered thoſe vaſt baths, amphitheatres, and highways, which no nation ſince thoſe times hath even preſumed to imitate; there was in effect but one people; the Latin language, in the time of Theodoſius, was ſpoke from Cadiz to the Euphrates; trade was carried on from Rome to Triers and Alexandria with more eaſe than many provinces now find in trafficing with their next neighbours; even the tributes, though burthenſome, were much leſs intolerable than ſince that time, when the people are obliged to pay for the luxury, and undergo the violence of ſo many particular maſters. Let us only compare the ſtate of Paris, while governed by Julian the philoſopher, with its ſituation an hundred and fifty years after. Let us conſider Triers the largeſt city of the Gauls, in the time of Theodoſius, when it was called a ſecond Rome, and then obſerve the ſtate of that city after the inundation of the Barbarians. Autun under Conſtantine contained five and twenty thouſand maſters of families; Arles was ſtill more populous. The Barbarians brought along with them devaſtation, poverty, and ignorance. The Francs were of the number of thoſe famiſhed and ferocious people, who ran to the pillage of the empire. They ſubſiſted upon rapine and theft, although the country in which they ſettled was very fair and fertile. They did not know how to cultivate the lands. That country is marked in an antient carte, ſtill preſerved at Venice. There we ſee the Francs ſettled from the mouth of the Maine as far as Friſeland, and in part of Weſtphalia, the *Franci ſeu Chamavi*. It is by means of the antient Romans, and them only, that we have a diſtinct notion of our own origin. The Francs then were part of thoſe people called Saxons, who inhabited Weſtphalia; and when Charlemagne made war upon them three hundred years after, he exterminated the deſcendents of his own anceſtors.

Thoſe

Thoſe tribes of Francs, of which the Salians were the moſt illuſtrious, eſtabliſhed themſelves gradually in Gaul, not as allies of the Roman people, as generally ſuppoſed, but after having plundered the Roman colonies, Triers, Cologn, Mentz, Tongres, Tourney, Cambrai; defeated indeed by Actius, one of the laſt ſupports of the Roman grandeur, but afterwards united with him, through neceſſity, againſt Attila; then taking the advantage of the anarchy to which thoſe irruptions of the Huns, the Goths, the Vandals, and the Lombards and Burgundians reduced the empire, they uſed againſt the emperors themſelves the rights and titles of maſters of the militia, and the patriciate, which they had received from them. This empire was torn into ſhreds, and every horde of thoſe fierce ſavages ſeized upon part as its own prey. One inconteſtable proof that thoſe people were a long time in a ſtate of barbarity, is, that they deſtroyed a great number of cities, and founded none.

All theſe dominions were of ſmall importance till the end of the eighth century before the power of the caliphs, which threatened the whole earth.

The firſt ſucceſſors of Mahomet poſſeſſed the right of the throne and of the altar, of the ſword and of enthuſiaſm; their orders were ſo many oracles; their ſoldiers ſo many fanatics. In the year 651, they beſieged Conſtantinople, deſtined to be one day Muſſulman. The inevitable diviſions among ſo many new chiefs, of ſo many peoples and armies, did not interfere with their conqueſts; the Mahometans, in that particular, reſembled the antient Romans, who ſubdued Aſia Minor and the Gauls, even in the midſt of their civil wars.

In 711, we ſee them paſſing from Egypt into Spain, which was eaſily ſubdued * ſucceſſively by the Carthaginians, Romans, Goths, and Vandals, and at laſt by thoſe

* Spain was far from being eaſily ſubdued. The learned author of the Court of Auguſtus juſtly obſerves, that the Romans fought more battles for the poſſeſſion of Spain alone, than the greateſt conquerors on record did for the utmoſt extent of their dominion.

thoſe Arabs called Moors, who there eſtabliſhed the kingdom of Cordova. The ſultan of Egypt, indeed, ſhook off the yoke of the grand caliph of Bagdat; and Abderame, governor of conquered Spain, no longer acknowledged the ſultan of Egypt: nevertheleſs, every thing yielded to the arms of the Muſſulmans.

This Abderame, grandſon of the caliph Heſham, takes the Kingdoms of Caſtile, Navarre, Portugal, and Arragon; makes a ſettlement in Languedoc; conquers Guienne and Poitou; and, if Charles Martel had not deprived him of his conqueſts and his life, France would have been a Mahometan province.

As the Mahometans increaſed in power, they improved in politeneſs. Thoſe caliphs who were always acknowledged as the ſovereigns of religion by ſuch as received their orders from afar, finding themſelves at their eaſe in their new Babylon, revived the arts in that capital.

Aaron Rachild, cotemporary with Charlemagne, more illuſtrious than his predeceſſors, who cauſed himſelf to be reſpected even in Spain and at the river Indus, reanimated all the ſciences, cultivated the agreeable and uſeful arts, invited and encouraged learned men, and ſaw politeneſs ſucceed barbarity through his vaſt dominions. Under him the Arabians, who had already adopted the Indian cyphers, carried them into Europe. The firſt rudiments of aſtronomy, known in Germany and France, were learned from the Arabians; the word *Almanac* is ſtill a proof of this aſſertion. In a word, during the ſecond century after Mahomet, the Chriſtians of the Weſt were obliged to go and take inſtructions from the Muſſulmans.

The more Mahomet's empire flouriſhed, the more Conſtantinople and Rome were abaſed. Rome had never recovered that fatal ſtroke ſhe received from Conſtantine, in his removing the ſeat of empire: the Romans were no longer animated by glory and patriotiſm. The inhabitants of that antient capital had nothing more to hope from fortune. Courage became enervated, the arts ſunk into oblivion, and nothing was now ſeen in the abodes of the Scipios and Cæſars, but conteſts

teſts betweeen the ſecular judges and the biſhop. Taken, retaken, and ſacked ſo often by the Barbarians, Rome ſtill obeyed the emperors. After Juſtinian, a viceroy governed it under the name of Exarch; but he no longer deigned to look upon it as the capital of Italy. He reſided at Revenna, and from thence ſent his orders to the prefect of Rome. The Emperors had nothing now remaining in Italy, but the country that extends from the boundaries of Tuſcany to the extremities of Calabria. The Lombards were in poſſeſſion of Piedmont, the Milaneze, Mantua, Genoa, Parma, Modena, Tuſcany, and Bologna: theſe dominions compoſed the kingdom of Lombardy. Thoſe Lombards are ſaid to have come from Pannonia, where they had embraced Arianiſm, which was the prevailing religion. Having penetrated into Italy by Tyrol, there they ſettled, and confirmed their dominion by ſubmitting to the Catholic religion. Rome, whoſe walls were demoliſhed, and who had no other defence but the troops of the exarch, was often menaced with ſubjection to the power of the Lombards. It was then ſo poor, that the annual impoſition levied by the exarch, amounted to no more than a golden ſol from every maſter of a family; and even this was a burdenſome tax. It was like thoſe barren and remote lands which are a charge to the owners.

The Roman diurnal of the ſeventh and eighth centuries, a precious monument, part of which is printed, ſhews, in the moſt authentic manner, what the ſovereign pontif was in thoſe days. He was called The Vicar of Peter, Biſhop of the City of Rome, as ſoon as he was elected by the citizens; the clergy in a body intimated his election to the exarch, in this form: "We intreat you, who are charged with the imperial miniſtry, to order the conſecration of our father and paſtor." They likewiſe communicated the news of the election to the metropolitan of Ravenna in theſe words: "St. Peter, we beſeech thy holineſs to obtain of our lord the exarch the ordination now depending." They were alſo obliged to ſend account of an it to the judges of Ravenna, whom they ſtiled Your Eminences.

At

At that time the new pope, before his ordination, was obliged to pronounce two confeſſions of faith; and in the ſecond he condemned among the heretics pope Honorius I. becauſe, at Conſtantinople, the ſaid Honorius biſhop of Rome was ſuppoſed to have acknowledged but one will in Jeſus Chriſt.

There is a great diſtance from this to the Tiara; but there is likewiſe a great difference between the firſt monk who preached on the banks of the Rhine and the electoral cap; as alſo between the firſt chief of the wandering Salians and a Roman emperor. All greatneſs is formed gradually, and the origin of every thing is ſmall and inconſiderable.

The pontiff of Rome eſtabliſhed his greatneſs inſenſibly, during the abaſement of the city: the Romans were poor, but the church was not. Conſtantine had given, to the baſilique of the Lateran only, above a thouſand marks of Gold, and above thirty thouſand of ſilver, and aſſigned to it fourteen thouſand ſols of yearly revenue. The popes, who fed the poor, and ſent miſſions through all the Weſt, having had occaſion for more conſiderable ſupplies, had obtained them without difficulty. The emperors, and even the Lombard king, had granted them lands; and they poſſeſſed, in the neighbourhood of Rome, certain revenues and caſtles called The Juſtices of St. Peter. Several citizens eagerly ſtrove to enrich, by donation or will, a church whoſe biſhop was looked upon as the father of their country. The credit of the popes was greatly ſuperior to their wealth. It was impoſſible to fail, in point of veneration, for an almoſt uninterupted ſucceſſion of pontiffs, who had conſoled the church, extended religion, and ſoftened the manners of the Heruli, Goths, Vandals, Lombards, and Francs*.

Although

* It is paying too great a compliment to the Roman Catholic religion to aſcribe theſe bleſſings to a ſucceſſion of popes, who embroiled all Chriſtendom with intrigues, excited rebellions, dethroned kings, denounced damnation, tyrannized over conſcience, preached up war, implacable hatred, and perſecution; armed one half of the world againſt their fellow-creatures; filled the nations of the earth

Although the Roman Pontiffs, in the time of the exarchs, extended their right of metropolitan no farther than the *ſuburbuary towns*, that is, over the towns ſubjected to the government of the prefect of Rome: nevertheleſs, they were often dignified with the appellation of Univerſal Pope, on account of the primacy and dignity of their ſee. Gregory the Great refuſed that title, which however he merited by his virtues; and his ſucceſſors extended their credit in the Weſt; therefore we ought not to be ſurprized to find in the eighth century Boniface archbiſhop of Mentz, the ſame who conſecrated Pepin, expreſs himſelf thus in the form of his oath: "I promiſe to St. Peter, and his vicar Gregory the Happy," &c.

At length, in proceſs of time, the popes formed the deſign of delivering Rome at once from the Lombards, by whom it was inceſſantly threatened, and the Greek emperors, by whom it was ſo ill defended. The popes at that time perceived that which at other conjunctures would have been no other than a revolt or impotent ſedition, might now become a revolution excuſable from neceſſity, and reſpectable through ſucceſs. This is the revolution which was begun under Pepin II. uſurper of the throne of France, and completed by his ſon Charlemagne, at a time when every thing was in confuſion, and the face of Europe muſt have neceſſarily been changed.

The kingdom of France at that time extended from the Pyrenees and the Alps to the Rhine, the Maine and the Sala. Bavaria depended upon this vaſt kingdom. It was the king of France who beſtowed that duchy when he was ſtrong enough to give it away. This kingdom of the Francs, which had been almoſt always divided ſince the time of Clovis, and torn by inteſtine

earth with maſſacre, blood, and deſolation; and in their own perſonal conduct diſplayed the moſt ſhocking compoſition of perfidy, cruelty, profligacy, and ſuperſtition. The barbarous nations were civilized by the gradual improvement and cultivation of the human underſtanding, which the Roman pontiffs in general prevented to the utmoſt of their power, well knowing that ignorance was the mother of devotion.

teſtine wars, was nothing but a vaſt, barbarous province of the antient Roman empire, which Conſtantinople always reckoned among the rebellious ſtates, though ſhe treated with it as a powerful kingdom.

CHARLEMAGNE.

CHARLEMAGNE, born April 10, near Aix-la-Chapelle, was the ſon of Pepin, mayor of the palace, duke of the Francs, and grandſon of Charles Martel. All that we know of his mother, is, that her name was Bertha; but we are not even preciſely acquainted with the place of his birth. He was born during the ſeſſion of the council of Germany, tho', thanks to the ignorance of thoſe times, we know not where that famous council was held.

742.

One half of the country, which is now called Germany, was idolatrous, from the banks of the Weſer, and even of the Maine and Rhine, to the Baltick, and the other half Chriſtian.

There were already biſhops at Triers, Cologne, and Mentz, frontier cities, founded by the Romans, and inſtructed by the popes; but that country was then called Auſtraſia, and belonged to the kingdom of the Francs.

One Villebrod*, an Engliſhman, had, in the time of Charles Martel's father, gone to preach to the idolaters of Frieſland what little Chriſtianity he knew. There was, towards the end of the ſeventh century, a titular biſhop of Weſtphalia who raiſed little children from the dead. Villebrod took the vain title of Biſhop of Utrecht; and there he built a ſmall church, which was deſtroyed by the pagan Frieſlanders. At length, in the beginning of the eighth century, another Engliſhman, known

* Villebrod was a native of Northumberland, educated in the monaſtery of Rippon, who afterwards proſecuted his theological ſtudies in Ireland, at that time famous for the moſt learned and pious profeſſors of the true faith.

known afterwards by the name of Boniface †, went and preached in Germany, and was looked upon as an apoſtle The Engliſh were at that time the preceptors of the Germans; and it was to the popes that all thoſe people, as well as the Gauls, owed the little learning and Chriſtianity which they knew.

A ſynod at Leſtine in Hainault ſerves to ſhew the manners of thoſe times. There it was regulated, that thoſe who had taken the effects of the church, in order to maintain a war, ſhould give a crown to the church by way of farm. This regulation regarded the officers of Charles Martel and his ſon Pepin, who enjoyed during life the abbeys they had ſeized. It was then equally uſual to endow monks, and to deprive them of their endowments. 743.

Boniface, that apoſtle of Germany, founded the abbey of Fuld in the county of Heſſe. At firſt it was no more than a church covered with thatch and ſurrounded with cabbins, inhabited by ſome monks, who grubbed an ungrateful ſoil. It is now a principality; and no man can be a monk, unleſs he is a gentleman: the abbot has been long a ſovereign, and ſince the year 1753 a biſhop.

Carloman, uncle of Charlemagne, duke of Auſtraſia, reduces the Bavarian vaſſals, who were in rebellion againſt the king of France, and defeats the Saxons, of whom he wants to make vaſſals alſo. 744.

At this time Boniface was biſhop of Mentz. The dignity of metropolitan, hitherto attached to the ſee of Worms, is transferred to Mentz. 745.

Carloman, brother of Pepin, abdicates the duchy of Auſtraſia: it was a powerful realm, which he governed under the name of Mayor of the Palace, while his brother Pepin ruled in weſtern France; and Childeric king of all France could ſcarce command the ſervants of his own family. Carloman renounces his ſovereignty to go and turn monk at Montecaſſini.

Hiſtorians

† This was Wilfred who had aſſiſted Wilbrod in his apoſtolical labours in Frieſland.

Hiſtorians ſtill affirm that Pepin loved him tenderly; but, in all probability, he loved better to rule alone. The cloiſter was then the aſylum of thoſe who had too powerful competitors in the world.

In moſt towns of France they renew the cuſtom of the antient Romans, known under the name
747. of Patronage, or Clientſhip. The citizens
748. choſe patrons among the noblemen; and this circumſtance alone proves that the people in Gaul were not divided, as it is pretended they were, into maſters and ſlaves.

Pepin at length undertakes what his father Charles Martel could not perform. He reſolves to
749. deprive the Merovean race of the crown; and the firſt ſtep he takes is to gain the apoſtle Boniface over to his party, together with ſeveral biſhops, and at laſt pope Zacharius himſelf.

Pepin cauſes his king Hilderic or Childeric III. to be depoſed and made a monk at St. Bertin,
750. and ſeats himſelf on the throne of the Francs.

Pepin reſolves to ſubdue the People then called Saxons, extending from the neighbourhood
751. of the Maine to the Cimbric Cherſoneſus, who had already conquered England*. Pope Stephen III. demands the protection of Pepin againſt Luitprand king of Lombardy, who wanted to make himſelf maſter of Rome. The emperor of Conſtantinople was too remote and too weak to ſuccour him; and the firſt domeſtic of the king of France, now become uſurper, was the only perſon who could give him protection.

The firſt known action of Charlemagne was, to go, by order of his father Pepin, and proſtrate
754. himſelf before pope Stephen at St. Maurice in Valais. This was an eaſtern cuſtom. People often knee

* Thoſe who conquered England, or rather South Britain (for they themſelves gave it the name of England), came from Jutland, Angelem, and Holſtein, and theſe were aſſiſted by the Frieſlanders.

kneeled before biſhops, and theſe biſhops bended the knee not only before emperors, but even before the governors of provinces, when theſe laſt came to take poſſeſſion.

As for the cuſtom of kiſſing feet, it was not yet introduced in the Weſt. Diocleſian was the firſt who exacted that mark of reſpect. Pope Adrian I. and Leo III. firſt arrogated to the pontificate that honour which Diocleſian had aſſumed to the empire; after which, kings and emperors ſubmitted like other people to that ceremony, in order to render the Roman religion the more venerable.

Pepin cauſed himſelf to be conſecrated king of France, by the pope, in the month of Auguſt, in the abbey of St. Denis: he had already been conſecrated by Boniface; but the hand of the pope rendered his uſurpation the more reſpectable in the eyes of the people. Eginard, ſecretary to Charlemagne, ſays in expreſs terms, that Hilderic was depoſed by order of pope Stephen. Pepin is the firſt European king who was conſecrated. This ceremony was an imitation of the unction applied to the Hebrew kings: he, at the ſame time, took care to ſee his two ſons, Charles and Carloman, conſecrated. The pope, before he conſecrated him king, abſolved him of his perjury to his ſovereign Hilderic; and, after the conſecration, fulminated an excommunication againſt whoſoever ſhould at any time attempt to take the crown from the family of Pepin. Neither Hugh Capet nor Conrad have ſhewn great reſpect to that excommunication. The new king, in recompence for the pope's complaiſance, paſſes the Alps with his vaſſal Thaſillon duke of Bavaria, beſieges Aſtolphus in Pavia, and returns the ſame year without ſucceſs either in making war or peace *.

Scarce

* The French hiſtorians expreſsly ſay, that in this firſt expedition he obliged Aſtolphus to relinquiſh the exarchate of Ravenna and all his conqueſts, together with all his pretenſions to the ſovereignty of Rome; and that he exacted an oath from him and his nobility for the performance of theſe articles.

Scarce had Pepin repaſſed the Alps, when Aſtolphus beſieges Rome. Pope Stephen conjures the
755. new king of France to come to his relief. Nothing can be a more convincing proof of the ſimplicity of thoſe ignorant times, than a letter which the pope cauſes to be written to the king of France in the name of St. Peter, as if it had come down from heaven; a ſimplicity, however, which did not exclude the frauds of policy and attempts of ambition.

Pepin delivers Rome, again beſieges Pavia, makes himſelf maſter of the exarchate, and gives it (as they ſay) to the pope. This is the firſt title of the temporal power of the holy ſee, by which Pepin equally weakened the kings of Lombardy and the emperors of the Eaſt. This donation is very doubtful; for the archbiſhops of Ravenna at that time took the title of exarchs; conſequently the biſhops of Rome and Ravenna were reſolved to aggrandize themſelves. It is very probable that Pepin gave ſome lands to the popes, and favoured thoſe in Italy who ſtrengthened his dominions in France. If he really made that preſent to the popes, it is very clear that he gave away what did not belong to him; but he had alſo taken what was not his own. We find ſcarce any other ſource of the firſt rights. Time renders them legitimate.

Boniface archbiſhop of Mentz goes upon a miſſion among the Frieſland idolaters, from whom
756. he receives the crown of martyrdom: but as hiſtorians ſay that he was martyred in his camp, and that abundance of the Frieſlanders were killed, it is reaſonable to believe that the miſſionaries were ſoldiers. Thaſillon duke of Bavaria does homage for his duchy to the king of France, in the form of thoſe homages which have been ſince called Liegeance. By this time there were great hereditary fiefs, and Bavaria was one of that number.

Pepin once more defeats the Saxons. All the wars of thoſe people againſt the Francs ſeem to have been little more than the incurſions of barbarians, who came by turns to carry off cattle and ravage the harveſts.

There

There was no place of ſtrength, no policy, no formed deſign. This part of the world was ſtill ſavage.

Pepin, by all his victories, gained no more than the payment of an old tribute of three hundred horſes; to which were added five hundred cows. This was hardly worth the trouble of ſlaying ſo many thouſand men.

Didier, or Deſiderius, ſucceſſor of Aſtolphus, retakes the town which Pepin gave to St. Peter; but Pepin was ſo formidable, that Didier is ſaid to have reſtored them in conſequence of his threats only. Hereditary vaſſalage began to be ſo effectually introduced, that the kings of France pretended to be lords paramount of the duchy of Aquitaine. Pepin, by force of arms, compels Gaïfre duke of Aquitaine to take the oath of fidelity to him in preſence of the duke of Bavaria; ſo that he had two great ſovereigns at his feet. We may eaſily perceive that theſe homages were no other than the ſubmiſſion of weakneſs to ſuperior power. 758. 759. 760.

The duke of Bavaria thinking himſelf ſtrong enough, and ſeeing Pepin at a diſtance, revokes his homage; but, when the other is on the brink of making war upon him, renews his oath of fidelity. 762. 763.

The erection of the biſhopric of Saltzbourg. Pope Paul I. ſends to the king, in a preſent, books, chanters, and a clock. Conſtantine Copronimus likewiſe ſends to him an organ and ſome muſicians. This would not be a fact worthy of hiſtory, if it did not ſhew how little the arts were known in that part of the world. At that time the Francs knew nothing but war, hunting, and feaſting. 766. 767.

The preceding years are barren of events, conſequently happy for the people; for almoſt all the great events of hiſtory are public misfortunes. The duke of Aquitaine revokes his homage after the example of the duke of Bavaria. Pepin flies upon him, and runites Aquitaine to the crown. 768.

Pepin, ſurnamed the Short, died at Xaintes, September 24, in the 54th year of his age. Before his death he

he makes his will by word of mouth, and not by writing, in preſence of the great officers of his houſe, his generals, and thoſe who held extenſive lands for life. He divides his dominions between his two ſons Charles and Carloman. After Pepin's death, the nobles modify his will. They gave to Charles, afterwards called Charlemagne, Burgundy, Aquitaine, Provence, and Neuſtria, which then extended from the Meuſe to the Loire and the ocean. Carloman had Auſtraſia from Rheims to the extremities of Thuringia. It is plain that the kingdom of France at that time comprehended near one half of Germany.

Didier, king of the Lombards, offers his daughter Deſiderata in marriage to Charles, who was
770. already married: he eſpouſes Deſiderata, ſo it appears he had two wives at one time. This was not uncommon: Gregory de Tours ſays, that the kings Gontram, Caribert, Sigebert, Chilperic, had ſeveral wives.

His brother Carloman dies ſuddenly at the age of twenty: his widow flies into Italy with two
771. princes her children. This death and that flight did not abſolutely prove that Charlemagne was reſolved to reign alone, and entertained evil deſigns againſt his nephews; but neither do they prove that he deſerved to have his feſtival celebrated as it is in Germany.

Charles cauſes himſelf to be crowned king of Auſtraſia, and reunites all the vaſt realms of the
772. Francs, without leaving any thing to his nephews. Poſterity dazzled by the glare of his glory, ſeem to have forgot that injuſtice. He repudiated his wife, the daughter of Didier, in order to revenge himſelf for the aſylum which the Lombard king had afforded to the widow of his brother Carloman.

He takes the field againſt the Saxons, and finds at their head a man worthy to fight againſt him: this was Witikind, the greateſt defender of the German liberty, next to Herman, whom we call Arminius.

The king of France attacks him in that country which is now called the County de la Lippe. Thoſe peop-

people were wretchedly armed; for, in the capitularies of Charlemagne, we ſee a moſt rigorous prohibition to ſell cuiraſſes and helmets of the Saxons. The arms and diſcipline of the Francs could not fail of being victorious over ferocious courage. Charles cuts in pieces the army of Witikind, and takes the capital called Erreſbourg. That capital was a number of huts ſurrounded with a ditch. The inhabitants are ſlaughtered. He demoliſhes the principal temple of the country, ſaid to have been formerly dedicated to the god Tanfana, *the univerſal principle*, if ever thoſe barbarians acknowledged an univerſal principle; but at that time dedicated to the god Irminſul a temple revered in Saxony, like that of Sion among the Jews. The prieſts were murdered upon the fragments of the idol which had been overthrown. The victorious army penetrated as far as the Weſer. All thoſe diſtricts ſubmitted. Charlemagne reſolved to bind them to his yoke with the tye of Chriſtianity. While he haſtened to the other end of his dominions, and to other conqueſts, he left among them miſſionaries to perſuade, and ſoldiers to compel them. Almoſt all the people, who lived the near Weſer, found themſelves in one year Chriſtians and ſlaves.

While the king of the Francs reſtrains the Saxons on the banks of the Weſer, he is recalled to Italy.
The quarrels between the Lombards and the 773.
pope ſtill ſubſiſted; and the king, in ſuccouring the church, might have made himſelf maſter of Italy, which was better worth his trouble than the countries of Bremen, Hanover, and Brunſwick. He marched therefore againſt his father-in-law Didier, who was then before Rome. His aim was not to avenge Rome, but to hinder Didier from accommodating matters with the pope, in order to reſtore to the two ſons of Carloman the kingdom which was their due. He ran to attack his father-in-law, and cloked his uſurpation with piety. He was followed by ſeventy thouſand men, regularly trained to war; an almoſt incredible circumſtance in thoſe times. Armies of one hundred and two hundred thouſand men had been aſſembled before this period, but then they conſiſted of peaſants, who retired to their harveſt

harveſt after a battle was loſt or won. Charlemagne retained them longer under his ſtandard, and this diſcipline greatly contributes to his victories.

The French army beſieges Pavia. The king goes to Rome, renews and augments the donations of Pepin, and with his own hand places a copy of it on the tomb, which, as they pretended, contained the aſhes of St. Peter. Pope Adrian thanks him in panegyric verſes of his own writing.

774.

The Tradition of Rome ſays, that Charles gave Corſica, Sardinia, and Sicily; but ſurely he did not beſtow any of theſe countries, which were not in his poſſeſſion. But there is ſtill extant a letter from Adrian to the empreſs Irene, which proves that Charles gave ſome dominions which are not ſpecified in the letter. "Charles duke of the Francs and Patrician, ſaid he, hath given us provinces, and reſtored the towns which the perfidious Lombards detain from the church, &c."

We find that Adrian ſtill carefully huſbanded his influence over the empire, in giving Charles the title of Duke and Patrician only, and ſeeking to fortify his poſſeſſion with the name of reſtitution.

The king returns from Pavia. Didier ſurrenders himſelf, is made a monk, and ſent to the abbey of Corbie in France. Thus ended the kingdom of the Lombards, who had deſtroyed the Roman power in Italy, and ſubſtituted their own laws in the room of thoſe made by the emperors. Every king, who had the misfortune to be dethroned, became a monk in thoſe days.

Charlemagne cauſed himſelf to be crowned king of Italy in Pavia, with a crown on which there was an iron circle, ſtill preſerved in the little town of Monza.

Juſtice was ſtill adminiſtered in Rome in the name of the Greek emperor. Even the popes received from him the confirmation of their election; for though the emperor was deprived of the ſubſtance, he ſtill retained the ſhadow of power. Charlemagne, like Pepin, aſſumed no other title but that of Patrician, which Theodoric and Attila had deigned to receive; ſo that the name of Emperor, which originally ſignified no more than

than the general of an army, ſtill implied the Maſter of the Eaſt and Weſt. Unſubſtantial as it was, they reſpected it, and even were afraid to uſurp it. They affected no more than the term of Patrician, which formerly meaned a Roman Senator, and which at that time ſignified a Lieutenant, independent of an emperor, without power.

Nevertheleſs, money was then coined at Rome in the name of Adrian; from whence, what are we to conclude, but that the pope, delivered from the Lombards, and no longer obeying the emperors, was himſelf maſter in Rome? Certain it is, the Roman pontiffs, like the biſhops of the Francs and Germans, ſeized the regal rights as ſoon as they were in their power; all authority ſeeks to augment itſelf; and for that reaſon only, nothing but the name of Charlemagne was ſtamped upon the new money coined at Rome in the year 800, when he was elected emperor by the pope and the Roman people.

The ſecond effort of the Saxons againſt Charlemagne, for the recovery of their liberty, which is called a revolt. They are again 775. defeated in Weſtphalia; and, after abundance of blood had been ſhed, gave cattle and hoſtages, having nothing elſe to pay.

An attempt of Adalgiſe the ſon of Didier to recover the kingdom of Lombardy. Pope Adrian conſtrues it into a horrible conſpiracy. Charles 776. haſtens to take vengeance; flies from Germany into Italy; beheads a duke of Friouli, who was an accomplice; and every thing ſubmits to his fortune.

During that very period, the Saxons return to Weſtphalia, and he returns to defeat them. They ſubmit, and promiſe again to become Chriſtians. Charles builds forts in their country, before any churches were built among them.

He give laws to the Saxons, and compels them to ſwear they will become ſlaves, ſhould they ever ceaſe to be Chriſtians and ſubmiſſive. 777. At a grand diet, held at Paderborn in tents, a Muſſul-

man emir, who commanded at Saragoſſa, came to conjure Charlemagne to ſupport his rebellion againſt Abderame king of Spain.

Charles marches from Paderborn into Spain; eſpouſes
778. the cauſe of this emir; beſieges and takes Pampelune. We may obſerve, that the ſpoils of the Saracens were divided between the king, his officers, and ſoldiers, according to the antient cuſtom of making war only for the ſake of booty, and of dividing it equally among all thoſe who had an equal ſhare of the danger. But all that booty is loſt in repaſſing the Pyrenees. The rear-guard of Charlemagne is cut in pieces at Roncevalles by the Arabians and Gaſcons. There, it is ſaid, periſhed his nephew Orlando, ſo celebrated for his courage and incredible ſtrength.

As the Saxons had recourſe to arms while Charles was in Italy, ſo they take them up while he is in Spain. Witikind, who had retired to the duke of Denmark his father-in-law, returns to re-animate his countrymen: he re-aſſembles them; finds in Bremen the capital of the country which bears that name, a biſhop, a church, and his Saxons in deſpair of being dragged to new altars: he expels the biſhop, who has time to embark and get away. Charlemagne comes up with great expedition, and defeats Witikind again.

Victor on all hands, he ſets out for Rome with one of
780. his wives, called Ildegarde, and two younger children, Pepin and Lewis. Pope Adrian baptizes theſe two children, and conſecrates Pepin king of Lombardy, and Lewis king of Aquitaine. This Aquitaine had been erected into a kingdom for ſome time.

The king of France keeps his court at Worms, Ra-
781. tiſbon, and Cuerci. There he is viſited by
782. Alcuin archbiſhop of York. The king, who could ſcarce ſign his own name, was reſolved to make ſcience flouriſh, becauſe he would be great in every thing. Peter de Piſa taught him a ſmattering of grammar. It is not ſurprizing that the Italians ſhould

ſhould inſtruct the Gauls and Germans; but it is very extraordinary that they ſhould have always had occaſion for Engliſhmen to learn that which at this day is not honoured with the name of Science.

They held conferences before the king, which may be called the origin of the academies, eſpecially thoſe of Italy, in which every academician aſſumed a new name. Charlemagne took the appellation of David, Alcuin of Albinus *, and a young man called Ilgeberd, who wrote doggerel verſes, boldly appropriated to himſelf the name of Homer.

Mean while, Witikind who did not learn grammar, raiſed an inſurrection among the Saxons, and defeated the generals of Charles on the banks of the Weſer. 783. Charles comes to repair this loſs. He is again victor over the Saxons, who lay down their arms before him: he commands them to deliver up Witikind. They anſwer, that he has eſcaped to Denmark. *His accomplices are ſtill here*, replied Charlemagne, and ordered four thouſand five hundred to be butchered before his eyes. In this manner he prepared Saxony for the reception of Chriſtianity.

This maſſacre had the ſame effect as that produced a long time after by the maſſacre called St. Bartholomew in France. 784. All the Saxons reſumed their arms with fury and deſpair, and were joined by the Danes and neighbouring nations.

Charles marches againſt this multitude, with his ſon of the ſame name. He obtains a new victory, and again impoſes fruitleſs laws: 785. eſtabliſhing marquiſes or commanders of the militia upon the frontiers of his realms.

Witikind yields at length. He comes with a duke of Frieſland, and ſubmits to Charlemagne at Attigni ſur l'Aine. 786. Then the kingdom of

* Alcuin or Albinus was invited over by Charlemagne, and became his favourite. The claſſical name which this prelate aſſumed was Flaccus.

France extended as far as Holſtein. The King of France repairs again to Italy and rebuilds Florence; it is very remarkable, that he is no ſooner at one end of his dominions, than there are always revolts at the other; a ſure ſign that the king had not powerful bodies of troops on all his frontiers. The ancient Saxons joined the Bavarians; the King repaſſes the Alps.

787. The Empreſs Irene who ſtill governed the Greek Empire, at that time the only Empire, had formed a powerful league againſt the King of France. It was compoſed of thoſe very Saxons and Bavarians, and the Huns ſo famous heretofore under Attila, who inhabited, as now, the banks of the Danube and the Drave; nay, part of Italy itſelf had engaged in the aſſociation. Charles vanquiſhed the Huns upon the Danube, and the whole was diſſipated.

From 788. to 792. During theſe four years of peace, he opened ſchools in the houſes of biſhops and monaſteries. The Roman chanting was eſtabliſhed in the churches of France. At the diet of Aix-la-Chapelle he inſtituted thoſe laws which are called Capitulary. Laws that ſavour ſtrongly of that barbariſm which they were meant to reform, and in which the nation had been long buried.

Theſe that follow are the cuſtoms, manners, laws and ſpirit, which then prevailed.

LAWS AND CUSTOMS OBSERVED IN THE TIME OF CHARLEMAGNE.

PROVINCES were governed and troops levied by Dukes, ſome of whom were removeable and others hereditary vaſſals, much in the ſame manner as the Turkiſh provinces are now governed by Beglerbeys. Theſe Dukes had been inſtituted in Italy by Diocleſian. The Counts, whoſe origin appears to have been in the time of Theodoſius, commanded under the Dukes, each aſſembling the troops in his own diſtrict. The farms, the towns, and villages, furniſhed a number of ſoldiers proportioned

proportioned to their power. Twelve farms found one horſeman armed with caſque and cuiraſs. The other ſoldiers wore nothing but a long ſquare buckler, a battle-ax, a javelin and ſword. Thoſe who uſed arrows were obliged to have at leaſt a dozen in their quivers. The province that furniſhed the ſoldiery, provided them with corn and proviſions for ſix months. The king maintained them for the reſt of the campaign. They were reviewed on the firſt of March and the firſt of May. It was uſually at theſe ſeaſons that the parliaments were held. In beſieging towns they employed the Ram, the Baliſta, the Tortoiſe, and almoſt all the machines of the Romans, for, of all their arts, that of war alone ſubſiſted, and *that* for their own ruin.

The noblemen called Barons, Leudes, Richlomes, with their followers, compoſed what little cavalry was then to be ſeen in armies. The Muſſulmans of Africa and Spain had a greater number of horſe. It appears that afterwards, they learned of them to cover their men and horſes with iron, and fight with lances.

Charles had naval forces at the mouths of all the great rivers of his empire, from the Elbe to the Tiber. Before his time they were not known among the barbarians, and long after his death no ſuch armaments were to be ſeen. By theſe means the warlike police which he maintained on all the coaſts, he put a ſtop to thoſe inundations of northern people, who then exerciſed the trade of pirates. He contained them within their own frozen climates; but, under his puſillanimous deſcendents, they deluged all Europe.

The general affairs were regulated in thoſe aſſemblies which repreſented the nation, according to the cuſtom of the ancient Romans, the Gauls, and people of the North. Under him, Parliaments had no will but that of their maſter, who knew how to command and perſuade.

He cauſed trade to flouriſh a little in his vaſt dominions, becauſe he was maſter of the ſeas. Thus merchants from the coaſt of Tuſcany went to trade at Conſtantinople among the Chriſtians, and at the port

of Alexandria among the Muſſulmans, by whom they were civilly received, and from whom they drew the riches of Aſia.

Venice and Genoa, ſo powerful in the ſequel, by means of trade, had not yet engroſſed the riches of the nations, tho' Venice began to grow wealthy and great.

Rome, Ravenna, Lyons, Arles and Tours, had a great many woollen manufactures, iron was damaſked, glaſs was made, ſilk ſtuffs were not woven in any city of the Weſt.

The Venetians began to bring them from Conſtantinople, where they were not known till after the emperor Juſtinian; but it was not till near four hundred years after Charlemagne, that the Moors fabricated ſilk at Cordova, and the Norman princes who conquered the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, afterwards eſtabliſhed a ſilk manufactory at Palermo. Almoſt all the works of induſtry and craft were performed in the empire of the Eaſt. Linen was very uncommon. St. Boniface, in a letter written to a biſhop ſettled in Germany, deſires he will ſend him ſome ſhagged cloth to wipe his feet after waſhing. This want of linen was in all probability, the cauſe of thoſe diſeaſes of the ſkin, known by the name of Leproſy*, ſo riſe in thoſe days; for there was already a great number of thoſe hoſpitals called Lazars.

It is pretended that even in the time of Charlemagne, great projects were formed for the benefit of commerce, as they had actually begun the famous canal, which was to join the Rhine to the Danube, and thus open a communication between the black ſea and the ocean.

But

* We ſhould rather think that the wearing of woollen next the ſkin would help to prevent the leproſy, by promoting a copious and regular perſpiration. We do not find that the Romans were ſubject to this diſtemper; nor the other Europeans, before the uſe of linen was known to them. The leproſy made no figure among the northern nations, until it was imported from the Eaſt, in the time of the cruſades; and then it gained ground to ſuch a degree, that it was found expedient to build lazar-houſes in almoſt every kingdom of Europe.

But the ſpirit of conqueſt might have had a greater ſhare in this undertaking, than any view to public utility.

Money had nearly the ſame value as that of the Roman empire after Conſtantine. The golden ſol was the *ſolidum Romanum*, which the barbarians called ſol from their known habit of contracting all names. Thus of *Auguſtus* they made *Août*; of *Forum Julii* Frejus; and this golden ſol was equivalent to forty deniers of ſilver through the whole extent of Charlemagne's dominions.

CONTINUATION of the CUSTOMS that prevailed in the time of CHARLEMAGNE.

THE CHURCH.

THE churches of France were rich, thoſe of Germany began to be rich, and were deſtined one day to be more ſo, becauſe they were endowed with larger territories. The Biſhops and Abbots had a great number of ſlaves. The Abbot Alcuin, preceptor to Charlemagne, is reproached with having had twenty thouſand: This number is not incredible. Alcuin poſſeſſed three abbeys, the lands of which had been inhabited by twenty thouſand men, all belonging to the lord or ſuperior. Theſe ſlaves known under the name of *Serfs* could not marry, nor change the place of their abode without the permiſſion of the Abbot. They were obliged to go fifty leagues with their carts, if he commanded them. They worked for him three days in the week, and he ſhared all the fruits of the earth.

In France and in Germany the biſhops more than once have been known to go to battle with their *Serfs*. Charlemagne in a letter to one of his wives called Fraſtada, mentions a biſhop who had valiantly fought by his ſide, in a battle againſt the Avares, a people deſcended from the Scythians, who were ſettled towards the country which is now called Auſtria.

We find in his time fourteen monaſteries which were obliged to furniſh ſoldiers. If the Abbot was in the leaſt inclined to war, nothing hindered him from heading them in perſon; true it is in the year 803, a parliament complained to Charlemagne, that too great a number of prieſts had been ſlain in war. Then the miniſters of the altar were forbid going to battle, but cuſtom was the ſtronger law.

We ſee in the Bavarian laws and the *Capitularies* of Charlemagne, that the prieſts were forbid to have any other women in their houſes, but their mothers and ſiſters: this was one of thoſe laws which are contradicted by cuſtom.

No perſon was allowed to call himſelf clerk who was not really ſo, or to wear the tonſure without belonging to a biſhop. Such clerks were called *Acephali*, and puniſhed as vagabonds. They were ignorant of the ſtation ſo common in our days, which is neither ſecular nor eccleſiaſtic *. The title of *Abbot*, which ſignifies father, belonged to none but the chiefs of monaſteries, or even to ſeculars conſtituted in dignity; for example, that title was given to the chief of the republic of Genoa.

The Abbots of that time had the paſtoral ſtaff which the biſhops carried, and which had been the mark of the augural dignity in pagan Rome. Such was the power thoſe abbots had over their monks, that they ſometimes condemned them to the moſt cruel afflictive pains. They were the firſt who adopted the barbarous cuſtom of the Greek Emperors, namely, that of burning the eyes, † and a council was obliged to prohibit this outrage, which they began to look upon as a right and prerogative.

As

* A ſet of people known by the name of Abbe's, who diſtinguiſh themſelves from the laity by a kind of clerical habit, tho' in reality they do not belong to any order of the church: many individuals aſſume this habit, to ſave the expence of lace and embroidery; for the abbe's dreſs, like canonicals in England, entitles the wearer to admiſſion into the beſt of company.

† An operation performed by bringing a piece of red hot metal ſo near the eye, as to deſtroy that organ.

As to the ceremonies of the Church, the maſs was different from what it is at preſent, and ſtill more different from what it had been in the firſt ages: there was no more than one ſaid in every church. And Kings very rarely cauſed them to be ſaid in private.

The firſt auricular confeſſion which is called general confeſſion, is that of St. Eloy in the ſixth century. The enemies of the Roman Church, who have revolted againſt ſuch a ſalutary inſtitution, ſeem to have diveſted mankind of the moſt effectual bridle to reſtrain their ſecret crimes. Even the very ſages of antiquity had felt the importance of it; and tho' they had not been able to impoſe it as a duty on all men, they had eſtabliſhed the practice of it among thoſe who pretended to lead a life of purity: it was the firſt expiation of thoſe who were initiated among the antient Egyptians, and in the Eleuſinian myſteries of Ceres. Thus the Chriſtian Religion hath conſecrated things, the ſhadow of which God had permitted human wiſdom to perceive and embrace.

Religion was not yet extended to the north farther than the conqueſts of Charlemagne. Denmark, and all the country of the Normans were plunged in groſs idolatry. The inhabitants adored Oden; they imagined that after death, the happineſs of man conſiſted in drinking beer out of the ſculls of their enemies in Oden's Hall. We have ſtill tranſlations of their old ſongs which expreſs this notion: it was a great deal for them to believe another life. Poland was neither leſs barbarous nor leſs idolatrous. The Muſcovites, more ſavage than all the other inhabitants of Great Tartary, knew ſcarce enough of religion to be Pagans, yet all theſe nations lived quietly and peaceably * in their ignorance, happy in being unknown to Charlemagne, who ſold the knowledge of Chriſtianity ſo dear.

CONTINUATION

* Not ſo quietly, if we believe the hiſtories of Saxo-grammaticus, Loccinius, &c. How is it poſſible that ſavage nations could live peaceably, who depended upon plunder for many of the neceſſaries of life?

CONTINUATION of the CUSTOMS that prevailed in the time of CHARLEMAGNE.

LAWS AND CUSTOMS.

JUSTICE was uſually adminiſtered by counts appointed by the king. They had their reſpective diſtricts aſſigned, and were ſuppoſed to be acquainted with the laws, which were neither ſo numerous nor obſcure as ours: the proceedings were ſimple, and every man pleaded his own cauſe in France and Germany.

Rome alone and her dependencies ſtill retained abundance of the laws and formalities of the Roman empire; the Lombard Laws prevailed through the reſt of Hither Italy.

Every count had under him a lieutenant called Viguier, ſeven aſſeſſors (Scabini) choſen in the city. Like the ancient Roman ſenators, they were at once warriors and judges. Nay, they were forbid to appear upon the tribunal without their bucklers; but, under Charlemagne, no other citizens or even ſoldiers were allowed to go armed in time of peace. This wiſe law, conformable to that of the Romans and Muſſulmans, prevented thoſe quarrels and continual duels, which afterwards deſolated Europe, when the faſhion was introduced of never quitting the ſword, but of going armed into the houſes of friends, courts of judicature, and churches; an abuſe carried to ſuch a length, that in Spain, Germany and Flanders, the judge, the counſellor, the ſolicitor and phyſician walk at this day with their ſwords by their ſides, as if they were going to fight.

Thoſe counts publiſhed in their juriſdiction the order of marching to war, enliſting ſoldiers under captains or companies of an hundred, conducted them to the rendezvous of the troops, and in the mean time left their lieutenants to act as judges in the boroughs, for I dare not call them cities.

The

The King ſent commiſſaries with expreſs letters, *Miſſi Dominici*, to examine the conduct of the counts; but neither thoſe commiſſaries nor counts ſcarce ever condemned a criminal to death or to any corporal puniſhment. For, excepting Saxony, where Charlemagne exacted ſanguinary laws, almoſt all ſorts of crimes were puniſhed by fines through the reſt of his empire; that of rebellion alone was puniſhed with death, and the kings reſerved the judgment to themſelves. The Salique law, that of the Lombards and of the *Ripuarii*, had ſet fixed prices upon the greateſt part of all the other outrages which are now puniſhed with the loſs of life, or by ſevere penalties. This juriſprudence, which appears humane, was in effect more cruel than our own: it left every body, who could pay for it, at liberty to do miſchief. The gentleſt law is that which, by bridling iniquity in the moſt terrible manner, prevents the frequent commiſſion of crimes.

By the ancient laws reduced under Dagobert king of the Francs, it coſt one hundred ſols to cut off a man's ear; and if the loſs of the ear was not attended with deafneſs, the perpetrator was quit for fifty.

The murder of a deacon was taxed at four hundred ſols, and that of a pariſh prieſt at ſix hundred.

The third chapter of the Ripuary law, allows the murderer of a biſhop to atone the crime by paying as much gold as will balance a leaden Tunique, as long as the delinquent, and of a determined thickneſs.

The Salique law, revived under Charlemagne, fixes the price of a biſhop's life at 400 ſols. It is ſo true that a criminal could redeem his life in this manner, that a number of theſe laws are thus expreſſed: *Componat tercentum, ducentum, centum ſolidis.* The delinquent may compound for 300, 200, or 100 ſols.

The torture was applied to ſlaves only, and he, who by the torture occaſioned the death of an innocent ſlave belonging to another man, was obliged to give him two by way of ſatisfaction.

Charlemagne, who corrected the Salique and Lombard laws, did nothing but raiſe the price of crimes: They were all ſpecified, and a diſtinction made between

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the price of a ſtroke that bared the brain, and one that only cut off one of the tables of the ſcull: the firſt was valued at 45 ſols, and the other at 20.

A Witch, convicted of having eaten human fleſh, was condemned to pay 200 ſols: And this article is a proof very humbling to human nature, of the exceſs to which we may be driven by ſuperſtition.

All outrages againſt chaſtity had likewiſe their fixed prices, The rape of a married woman coſt 200 ſols. For having violated a girl on the highway, they paid but forty ſols. Whoſoever carried off a girl of ſervile condition, was fined in four ſols, and obliged to reſtore her to her maſter. The moſt ſevere of thoſe barbarous laws, was preciſely that, which ought to have been the moſt gentle. Charlemagne himſelf, in the ſixth book of his Capitularies, ſays that a man's marrying his god-mother is a crime worthy of death, which can be atoned no other way but by ſpending his whole life in pilgrimage.

Among the Salique laws there is one which ſtrongly denotes the contempt into which the Romans were fallen with thoſe barbarous people: The Franc who had ſlain a Roman citizen, paid no more than 1050 deniers; whereas the Roman paid 2500 for the blood of a Franc.

In criminal cauſes that could not be otherwiſe decided, the accuſed party purged himſelf by oath, and not only himſelf, but he was obliged to produce a certain number of witneſſes to ſwear to the ſame effect *. When both parties oppoſed oath to oath, the combat was ſometimes permitted.

Theſe combats we know were appeals to the judgment of God: this is the name they gave to the moſt deplorable follies of thoſe barbarous governments. The accuſed were ſubjected to the proof of cold water, boiling water, or red hot iron. The celebrated Stephen Baluze has collected all the ancient ceremonies of thoſe trials. They began with the maſs, the accuſed perſon

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* Reſembling the cuſtom of *Frank-pledge* among the Saxons, which was borrowed from the Lombards.

was excommunicated, the cold water was bleſſed and exorciſed, and then being bound with cords, he was thrown into the water: If he ſunk to the bottom, he was reputed innocent; but if he floated on the ſurface, he was found guilty. Mr. de Fleuri, in his Eccleſiaſtic Hiſtory, ſays it was a ſure way to find no perſon criminal. I dare ſay, it was a way by which many innocent perſons periſhed. There are many men whoſe breaſts are ſo large, and whoſe lungs are ſo light, as to hinder them from ſinking, eſpecially when a thick cord, with which they are tied in ſeveral circumvolutions, conſtitutes, with the body, a volume ſpecifically lighter than the ſame quantity of water *. This wretched cuſtom, ſince proſcribed in large cities, is preſerved even to our days in many provinces; and thoſe who incurred the imputation of ſorcery have been often ſubjected to it, even by the ſentence of the judge; for nothing endures ſo long as ſuperſtition, and more than one unfortunate wretch has loſt his life by the trial.

The judgment of God, by means of hot water, was executed by compelling the accuſed to plunge his naked arm into a tub of boiling water, and take up from the bottom a conſecrated ring. The judge, in preſence of the prieſts and the people, incloſed the patient's arm in a bag ſealed with his own ſeal: and if in three days after, no mark of a ſcald appeared, or if the mark was thought inconſiderable, his innocence was acknowledged. We plainly ſee that the judges could warp theſe ſtrange laws according to their own pleaſure, ſeeing it was in their power to decide whether or not the cicatrix was conſiderable enough to conſtitute the crime.

Charles being neighbour to the Huns, of conſequence becomes their natural enemy. He levies troops againſt them, and girds his ſon Lewis with a ſword in the fourteenth year of his age. He makes him what was then called *Miles*, that is, inſtructs him in the art of war; but this was not creating him knight, as ſome authors have imagined. Chivalry 793.

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* We have animadverted on this remark in the firſt volume of the tranſlation.

was not eſtabliſhed until a long time after this period. He again defeats the Huns upon the Danube and upon the Raab.

Charles aſſembles the biſhops to judge the doctrine of Elipand archbiſhop of Toledo. One may be amazed to find an archbiſhop of Toledo at that time, when the Muſſulmans were maſters in Spain; but we muſt know that the Muſſulmans, though victors, left liberty of conſcience to the vanquiſhed; that they did not think the Chriſtians were worthy to be Muſſulmans, and contented themſelves with impoſing a ſlight tribute upon them.

This Elipand imagined, like Felix d'Urgel, that Jeſus Chriſt as man was the adopted ſon, but as God the natural ſon of God the Father. It was a difficult point to reſolve by one's ſelf; therefore it was referred to judges, by whom the doctrine was condemned.

While Charles obtains victories, enacts laws, and aſſembles biſhops, a conſpiracy is formed againſt him. He had a ſon by one of his wives or concubines, called Pepin the Hunchbacked, to diſtinguiſh him from his other ſon Pepin king of Italy. Such children as are now called baſtards, and deprived of inheritance, were capable of inheriting at that time, and were not reputed baſtards. Hunchback, though the eldeſt of all the ſons, had no portion, and this is the origin of the conſpiracy. He is apprehended with his accomplices at Ratiſbon, tried by a parliament, ſhaved, and ſent to the monaſtery of Prum in the Ardennes. Some of his adherents have their eyes put out, and others are beheaded.

794. The Saxons revolt again, and are again eaſily defeated. Witikind was no longer at their head*.

The famous council of Frankfort. Here was condemned the ſecond council of Nicea, in which the empreſs Irene had re-eſtabliſhed the worſhip of images.

Charlemagne cauſes the Carolin-Books to be written againſt

* This chief had turned Chriſtian when he ſubmitted to Charlemagne, and after that period was never concerned in any inſurrection.

againſt image worſhip. Rome did not then think like the kingdom of the Francs; but this difference of opinion did not create any quarrel between Charlemagne and the pope, to whom his friendſhip was neceſſary.

The duke of Friuli, a vaſſal of Charles, is ſent againſt the Huns, and makes himſelf maſter of their treaſures, ſuppoſing they had any. Pope Adrian dies December 25. Charlemagne is ſaid to have written his epitaph in Latin verſe; but one can hardly believe that this king of the Francs, who could not write*, ſhould nevertheleſs be capable of making Latin verſes. 795.

Leo. III. ſucceeds Adrian, and Charles writes to him thus: "We rejoice at your election, and that you pay us that obedience and fidelity which is our due." In this manner he expreſſes himſelf as a patrician of Rome, and thus his father expreſſes himſelf to the Francs as mayor of the palace. 796.

Pepin king of Italy is ſent by his father againſt the Huns; a ſure ſign that the former victories were not very complete. He obtains a new one. The celebrated empreſs Irene is ſhut up in a cloiſter by her ſon Conſtantine V. She re-aſcends the throne; cauſes her ſon's eyes to be put out: he dies of the operation, and ſhe laments his death. This Irene, although the natural enemy of Charlemagne, was deſirous of being allied to him. 797. 798.

At this period the Normans, that is, *men of the North*, who inhabited the coaſts of the Baltick, were pirates. Charles equips a fleet and clears the ſeas of them. 799.

The new pope Leo III. incurs the reſentment of the Romans: his canons reſolve to put out his eyes, and cut out his tongue. The attempt is made, but he recovers of his wounds: he comes to Paderborn to demand

* The French hiſtorians ſay poſitively, that he ſpoke and wrote Latin fluently, and even compoſed verſes in that language; that he underſtood Greek, and was a good proficient in aſtronomy. If that was the caſe, it is very ſtrange he ſhould not have learned to write.

mand juſtice of Charles, who ſends him back to Rome with an eſcorte. Charles follows him in a little time: ſends his ſon Pepin to ſeize the duchy of Beneventum, which ſtill held of the emperor of Conſtantinople.

He arrives at Rome; declares the pope innocent of
800. the crimes laid to his charge; and the pope declares him emperor amidſt the acclamations of the people. Charlemagne affects to conceal his joy under the cloke of modeſty, and ſeems aſtoniſhed at his glory: he acts as the ſovereign of Rome, and renews the empire of the Cæſars: but to render that empire durable, there was a neceſſity of his remaining at Rome.

Hiſtorians alledge, that, as ſoon as he was emperor,
801. Irene expreſſed a deſire of being married to him. Such a marriage would rather have been between the two empires than between Charlemagne and Irene, who was an old woman.

Charlemagne exerts all the authority of the old em-
802. perors. No country from Beneventum to Bayonne, and from Bayonne to Bavaria, was exempted from his legiſlative power. John duke of Venice, having aſſaſſinated a biſhop, is accuſed before Charles, and does not object to him as a judge.

Nicephorus, ſucceſſor to Irene, acknowledges Charles as emperor, without coming to any agreement about the limits of the two empires.

The emperor applies himſelf to the eſtabliſhment of
803. p lice in his dominions, as much as the
804. times would permit. He again diſperſes the factions of the Saxons, and at laſt tranſports part of that people to Flanders, Provence, Italy, and Rome itſelf.

He dictates his laſt will, which begins thus: "Charles,
805. Emperor, Cæſar, the moſt invincible king of the Francs," &c. He bequeaths to Lewis all the country from Spain to the Rhine: he leaves Italy and Bavaria to Pepin; and to Charles, France from the Loire to Ingoldſtadt, and all Auſtraſia from the Scheld to the confines of Brandenbourgh. In theſe three lots there was ſubject for eternal diviſions. Charlemagne

lemagne thought to prevent all diſſenſions, by ordaining, that if any difference ſhould happen about the limits of theſe kingdoms, which could not be decided by evidence, they ſhould appeal to the *Judgment of the Croſs*. This conſiſted in making the oppoſite advocates ſtand with their arms extended, and he who was firſt wearied loſt the cauſe. The natural good ſenſe of ſo great a conqueror could not over-balance the cuſtoms of the age.

Charlemagne ſtill retains the empire and the ſovereignty, and was king of the kings his children. This famous will was made at Thionville with the approbation of a parliament. The parliament was compoſed of biſhops, abbots, officers of the palace and the army, who attended for no other reaſon but to atteſt the will of an abſolute maſter. The diets were not then what they are now; and that vaſt republic of princes, noblemen, and free towns, under one chief, was not then eſtabliſhed.

The famous Aaron, caliph of Bagdad, the new Babylon, ſends ambaſſadors and preſents to Charlemagne. The nations beſtowed upon Aaron a title ſuperior to that of Charlemagne; the emperor of the Weſt was ſurnamed the Great, but the caliph was ſurnamed The Juſt *. 806.

It is not ſurpriſing that Aaron Raſchid ſhould ſend ambaſſadors to the French emperor: they were both enemies to the emperor of the Eaſt: but what would be ſurpriſing is, that a caliph, as our hiſtorians alledge, ſhould propoſe the ceſſion of Jeruſalem to Charlemagne. It would have been a profanation in the caliph to yield up to Chriſtians a city full of Moſques; and this profanation would have coſt him his throne and life. Beſides, enthuſiaſm had not as yet ſummoned the Chriſtians of the Weſt to Jeruſalem.

Charles convokes a council at Aix-la-Chapelle. This council adds to the creed, "that the Holy Ghoſt proceeds from the Father and the Son." This addition was not then received at Rome, but the Romans adopted

* He was called Aaron Al Raſchid, or The Upright.

ed it ſoon after. Thus ſome *Dogmas* are eſtabliſhed by little and little.

At this period, the people called Normans, Danes, and Scandinavians, reinforced by the antient Saxons, who had retired among them, preſumed to menace the coaſts of the new empire. Charles croſſes the Elbe; and Godfrey, chief of all thoſe Barbarians, in order to defend himſelf, draws a large trench between the ocean and the Baltick, on the confines of Holſtein, the antient Cimbrique Cherſoneſus, and fortifies this trench with a ſtrong paliſado. In the ſame manner the Romans had drawn an intrenchment between England and Scotland: feeble imitations of the famous Chineſe wall *.

807. Treaties with the Danes. Laws for the
808. Saxons. Police eſtabliſhed in the empire.
809. Small fleets ſtationed at the mouths of rivers.

Pepin, that ſon of Charlemagne to whom his father
810. had given the kingdom of Italy, dies of the plague, in the Month of July, leaving a baſtard called Bernard. The emperor, without difficulty, beſtows Italy on this baſtard, as the natural heir, according to the cuſtom of the time.

A fleet ſtationed at Boulogne in the channel. A
811. light-houſe rebuilt at Boulogne. Wurtzburg built. The death of prince Charles deſtined for the empire.

The emperor aſſociates his ſon Lewis in the empire,
813. in the month of March, at Aix-la-chapelle. All preſent are obliged to give their votes for this aſſociation. He gives the city of Ulm to the Monks, who treat the inhabitants like ſlaves. He gives lands to Eginard the ſuppoſed lover of his daughter Emma. The romances are full of fables worthy of archbiſhop

* Why imitations? might not common ſenſe and reflection point out the expedient to people who had never heard of the Chineſe wall; which, in all probability, was the caſe with thoſe barbarians? —We muſt alſo obſerve, that the Roman wall drawn acroſs the North of England by Severus was as ſtrong and effectual as the famous wall of China.

archbiſhop Turpin *, concerning this Eginard and that pretended daughter of the emperor; but, unfortunately for the author, Charlemagne never had a daughter of that name.

He dies of a pleuriſy after ſeven days illneſs, January 28, at three in the morning. He had no phyſician near him who knew what a pluriſy was. Medicine, like almoſt all the other arts, was known to none but the Arabians and Greeks of Conſtantinople. 814.

LEWIS THE DEBONNAIRE, or THE WEAK.

SECOND EMPEROR.

LEWIS haſtens from Aquitaine to Aix-la-Chapelle, and puts himſelf in full poſſeſſion of the empire. He was born in 778 to Charlemagne, by one of his wives, called Ildegarde, daughter of a German duke. He is ſaid to have had beauty, ſtrength, health, and addreſs at all his exerciſes, and to have underſtood Latin and Greek; but he was weak and unfortunate. His empire was bounded on the North by the Baltick and Denmark, the Ocean on the Weſt, the Mediterranean, Adriatic and Pyrenees on the South, and the Viſtula and Tæiſſa on the Eaſt. The duke of Beneventum was his feudatory, and paid him annually ſeven thouſand crowns of gold for his duchy; a very conſiderable ſum at that time. The territory of Beneventum extended much farther at that time than now, and conſtituted the boundary of the two empires. 814.

The

* The fabulous hiſtory of Charlemagne and Orlando, which furniſhed the ground-work for the poems of Boyardo and Arioſto, was not written by archbiſhop Turpin, but by a monk who aſſumed the name of Turpin, in the eleventh century; whereas the archbiſhop of Rheims, to whom it has been falſely imputed, flouriſhed in the eighth.

The first step that Lewis took, was to shut up all his
815. sisters in convents, and all their lovers in jail, a measure for which he was not beloved either in his own family, or in the state; the second was to augment the privileges of all the churches; the third was to incense his nephew Bernard king of Italy, who came to take the oath of fidelity, and saw all his friends exiled.

Stephen IV. is elected bishop of Rome and pope by
816. the Roman people, without consulting the emperor; but he makes the people swear obedience and fidelity to Lewis, to whom he carries the oath in person to Rheims. He crowns the emperor and his wife Ermengarde; and returns to Rome in the month of October, with a decree importing that for the future the popes shall be elected in presence of the emperor's ambassadors.

Lewis associates his eldest son Lotharius in the em-
817. pire. This was being in a great hurry. He makes Pepin, his second son, king of Aquitaine; and erects Bavaria, with some neighbouring countries, into a kingdom for his youngest son Lewis. All three are dissatisfied; Lotharius, at being an emperor without power; the two others, with the smallness of their dominions; and Bernard, king of Italy, nephew to the emperor, more dissatisfied than all the rest.

The emperor Lewis thought himself emperor of Rome,
818. and Bernard grandson of Charlemagne, would have no master in Italy. It is plain that Charlemagne in his division had acted more like a parent than a politician, and laid the foundation of civil wars for his family. The emperor and Bernard have recourse to arms, and meet at Chaalons sur Saone. Bernard, who was probably more ambitious than warlike, loses part of his army without fighting; and submits to the mercy of Lewis the Debonnaire, who orders the eyes of his nephew Bernard and all his partisans to be put out. The operation was not expertly performed upon Bernard, who died three days after he had undergone it. This custom of putting out the eyes

yes of princes, was very much practiſed by the Greek emperors, unknown to the caliphs, and prohibited by Charlemagne.

The emperor loſes his wife Ermengarde, and heſitates whether he ſhall become a monk or marry again. He takes to wife one Judith daughter of a Bavarian count. He pacifies ſome troubles in Pannonia, and holds diets at Aix-la-chapelle. 819.

His generals retake Carniola and Carinthia from the barbarians who had conquered theſe provinces. 820.

Several eccleſiaſtics inſpire the emperor Lewis with remorſe for the puniſhment he had inflicted upon his nephew king Bernard, and the monaſterial captivity in which he held three of his own brothers, whoſe names were Drogon, Thierri, and Hugues, contrary to the promiſe he had made to Charlemagne to take care of their fortune. Thoſe eccleſiaſtics were in the right. It is a conſolation to mankind, that there are every where men who can in the name of the Divinity inſpire princes with remorſe: but there they ought to ſtop, without perſecuting and debaſing them. 821.

The biſhops and abbots impoſe a public penance on the emperor. He appears, in the aſſembly of Attigni, covered with hair-cloth. He gives archbiſhoprics and abbeys to his brothers whom he had made monks againſt their inclination. He implores forgiveneſs of God for the death of Bernard; this might have been done without hair-cloth and public penance, which rendered the emperor ridiculous. 822.

What were more dangerous circumſtances, Lotharius, whom he had aſſociated in the empire, cauſed himſelf to be crowned at Rome by pope Paſchal; the empreſs Judith, his mother-in-law, brought him a brother; and the Romans neither loved nor valued the emperor. One of the great faults of Lewis, was his neglecting to fix the ſtate of the empire at Rome. Pope Paſchal without remiſſion put out the eyes of all thoſe who preached up obedience to emperors; but afterwards he ſwore before God, that he had 823.

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no ſhare in theſe executions, and the emperor ſaid not a word.

The empreſs Judith is delivered at Compeigne of a ſon who is called Charles. Lotharius was then returned from Rome. His father Lewis the emperor exacts of him an oath, importing that he would conſent to give ſome kingdom to this child: a kind of oath, the violation of which he might have foreſeen.

Pope Paſchal dies. The Romans will not allow him
824. to be buried. Lotharius, at his return to Rome, cauſes informations to be taken againſt his memory. The proceſs is dropt. Lotharius, as emperor and ſovereign of Rome, makes laws for the protection of the popes; but in theſe very laws he names the pope before himſelf; a very dangerous piece of inattention.

Pope Stephen II. takes the oath of fidelity to the two emperors, but there it is expreſsly ſaid it was of his own free-will. The clergy and the Roman people ſwear they will never ſuffer a pope to be elected without the conſent of the emperor. They ſwear fealty to their lords Lewis and Lotharius, but add, "ſaving the fidelity we have promiſed to our lord the pope."

It ſeems that in all the oaths of thoſe times, there were clauſes by which they were in effect annulled.

Armorica or Britanny would not then acknowledge the empire. Thoſe people had no right, but that in common to all men, to be free; but in leſs than forty days they were obliged to yield to the ſtronger power.

One Heriolt duke of the Danes comes to the court
825. of Lewis to embrace the chriſtian religion; but, this was becauſe he had been expelled from his own dominions. The emperor ſends Anſcharius, a monk of Corbie, to preach Chriſtianity in the deſerts where Stockholm is now actually built. He founds the biſhopric of Hamburgh for this Anſcharius, and from Hamburgh the miſſionaries are to ſet out, in order to convert the North.

New

New Corbie is founded in Weſtphalia for the ſame purpoſe. The abbot, inſtead of being a miſſionary, is now a prince of the empire.

While Lewis is employed at Aix-la-Chapelle, about the miſſions of the North, the Mooriſh kings of Spain ſend troops into Aquaitaine, and war is carried on near the Pyrenees between the Muſſulmans and the Chriſtians; but it is ſoon terminated by agreement. 826.

The emperor Lewis cauſes councils to be held at Mentz, Paris, and Toulouſe. He repents of this meaſure. The council of Paris writes to him and his ſon Lotharius: "We intreat your excellencies to remember, after the example of Conſtantine, that the biſhops have a right to judge you, and that biſhops cannot be judged by man." 827.

Lewis beſtows upon his young ſon Charles in the cradle, what was then called Germany, ſituate between the Maine, the Rhine, the Neckar, and the Danube; to this he added Transjurane Burgundy, comprehending the country of Geneva and Swiſſerland.

The three other children of Lewis reſent this partition, and at firſt excite the exclamations of the whole empire.

Judith, mother of Charles, that infant king of Germany, governed her huſband the emperor, and was governed by one Bernard count of Barcelona, her gallant, whom ſhe had placed at the head of affairs. 828.

So many weakneſſes gave birth to factions. An Abbot, called Vala, a relation of Lewis, begins a conſpiracy againſt the emperor. His three children, Lotharius aſſociated by him in the empire, Pepin to whom he had given Acquitaine, and Lewis who had received Bavaria from his bounty, declared againſt their father. 829.

An Abbot of St. Dennis, who had at the ſame time St. Medard, de Soiſſons and St. Germain, promiſes to levy troops for their ſervice. The biſhops of Vienna, Amiens, and Lyons, declare all thoſe, who will not join them, "rebels to God and the church." This was not

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the firſt time the world had ſeen civil war preached up in the name of God; but it was the firſt time any father had at one time ſeen three of his own children rebellious and unnatural in the name of God.

Each of theſe rebellious ſons had an army: and the father had but an handful of troops, with which he fled from Aix-la-Chapelle to Picardy. He ſet out on Aſh-Wedneſday; a circumſtance trifling in itſelf, but become eternally memorable by its having been imputed to him as a crime equal to ſacrilege.

830.

At firſt a remnant of reſpect for the paternal and imperial authority, which had mixed with the rebellion, induces them to give Lewis the Weak the hearing in an aſſemhly at Compiegne. There he promiſed to be ruled by the advice of his ſon king Pepin and that of the prieſts, and to make his wife a nun: but, until a deciſive reſolution can be taken, Pepin, according to the cuſtom of the times, puts out the eyes of Bernard, that galant of Judith who thought himſelf ſecure; and his brother underwent the ſame fate.

Thoſe, who have a taſte for the reſearches of antiquity, are of opinion, that Bernard preſerved his eyes, and that his brother ſuffered for him. True knowledge does not conſiſt in the inveſtigation of theſe things; but in knowing the barbarous cuſtoms which prevailed at that time, the weakneſs of the government, the miſery of nations, and the power of the clergy.

Lotharius arrives from Italy: he puts the emperor his father in priſon, in the hands of monks. One of theſe, whoſe name was Gombaud, having more addreſs than his fellows, ſerves the emperor with great dexterity, and effects his deliverance. Lotharius at length begs pardon of his father at Nimeguen. The three brothers are divided among themſelves, and the emperor, at the mercy of thoſe by whom he is governed, leaves the whole empire in confuſion.

Diets are aſſembled, and armies raiſed on all hands. The empire becomes an anarchy. Lewis of Bavaria enters the country called Germany, and makes his peace at the head of an army.

831.

Pepin

Pepin is made priſoner. Lotharius is taken into favour; and in every treaty a new rebellion is projected.

The empreſs Judith takes the advantage of a lucky moment, to ſtrip Pepin of the kingdom of Aquitaine, and give it to her ſon Charles, 832. that is to herſelf in the name of her ſon. If the emperor Lewis the Weak had not given away ſo many kingdoms, he would have been able to keep his own.

Lotharius, under pretext of dethroning his brother Pepin, arrives from Italy with an army, and with that army brings pope Gregory IV. to inſpire more reſpect and excite more trouble.

Some biſhops attached to the emperor Lewis, particularly thoſe of Germany, write to the pope: 833. "If thou art come to excommunicate, thou ſhalt return excommunicated." But the party of Lotharius, of the other rebellious ſons, and the pope, prevailed. The rebel and papal army advances to the neighbourhood of Baſil againſt the imperial army. The Pope writes to the Biſhops: "Know that the authority of my chair is greater than that of the throne of Lewis." In order to prove that aſſertion, he negotiates with that emperor and deceives him. The field in which they negotiated, is called the field of deceit. He ſeduced the emperor's officers and ſoldiers. That unfortunate father ſurrenders himſelf to his rebellious ſons Lotharius and Lewis of Bavaria, on this ſingle condition, that they ſhould not put out the eyes of his wife and ſon Charles who was with him.

The rebellious Lotharius ſends his mother-in-law priſoner to Tortona; his father to the abbey of St. Medard, and his brother Charles to the monaſtery of Prum. He aſſembles a diet at Compeigne, and from thence adjourns to Soiſſons.

An archbiſhop of Rheims, called Ebbon, taken from a ſervile condition againſt the laws, and elevated to that dignity by Lewis himſelf, depoſes his ſovereign and benefactor. The monarch is compelled to appear before this prelate, ſurrounded by thirty biſhops, canons

and monks in the church of Notre Dame at Soiſſons. Lotharius is preſent at the humiliation of the father. an hair-cloth is ſpread before the altar. The archbiſhop commands the emperor to take off his baldric, ſword and habit, and proſtrate himſelf upon this hair-cloth. Lewis, with his face towards the earth, implores of his own accord public penance, which he deſerved but too well by this abject ſubmiſſion. The archbiſhop compels him to read aloud the liſt of his crimes, among which it is ſpecified that he had ordered his troops to march on Aſh-wedneſday, and convoked a parliament on Holy Thurſday. They conſtitute a verbal proceſs of this whole tranſaction, a monument ſtill extant of inſolence and meanneſs. In this proceſs they did not even deign to call Lewis by the name of Emperor.

Lewis the Weak continues ſhut up for the ſpace of a year, in a cell of the convent of St. Medard at Soiſſons, cloathed in ſack-cloth, without ſervants, without conſolation. Had he had but one ſon, he would have been loſt for ever; but his three children quarrelled about his ſpoils, and their diſſentions ſoon reſtored liberty and the crown to their father.

At this time of anarchy, the Normans, that is an aſſemblage of Norwegians, Swedes, Danes, Pomeranians and Livonians, infeſted the coaſts of the empire. They burned the new biſhopric of Hamburg, ſacked and plundered Frieſland, ſhewed by anticipation the miſeries they would one day occaſion, and there was no other way taken to expel them, but paying a ſum of money, which invited them to return again.

Lewis king of Bavaria, and Pepin king of Aquitaine,
834. reſolve to deliver their father, becauſe they are diſſatisfied with their brother Lotharius, who is forced to conſent to his enlargement. The emperor is re-eſtabliſhed at St. Dennis near Paris, but he dares not reſume the crown, till after he is abſolved by the biſhops.

As ſoon as he is abſolved, he is enabled to levy
835. troops. Lotharius reſtores his wife Judith and his ſon Charles. An aſſembly at Thionville

ville anathematize that of Soiſſons. It coſts the archbiſhop Ebbon no more than the loſs of his ſee; beſides, he was only depoſed in the veſtry; whereas the emperor had been degarded at the foot of the altar.

This whole year is ſpent in fruitleſs negotiations, and marked by public calamities. 836.

Lewis the Weak is taken ill. A comet appears: "Fail not, ſaid the emperor to his aſtrologer, to let me know what that comet ſignifies." The aſtrologer anſwers that it portended the death of a great prince. The emperor did not doubt but it was his own: prepares himſelf for death, and recovers. That ſame year the comet had its effect upon his ſon king Pepin. This was a new ſource of trouble. 837.

The emperor Lewis has now but two children to fear, inſtead of three. Lewis of Bavaria rebels again, and again begs pardon. 838.

Lotharius likewiſe begs pardon in order to have Aquitaine. The emperor makes a new partition of his dominions, takes every thing from the children of Pepin lately dead. To Italy, poſſeſſed by the rebel Lotharius, he adds Burgundy, Lyons, Franche Comté, part of Lorrain, of the Palatinate, of Triers, Cologne, Alſace, Franconia, Nurembeg, Thuringia, Saxony, and Frieſland. He gives to his beloved Charles the ſon of Judith, all that lies between the Loire, the Rhone, the Meuſe, and the ocean. By this partition, he again finds the ſecret to diſguſt his children and grand-children. Lewis of Bavaria takes arms againſt him. 839.

Lewis the emperor dies at length of chagrin. Before his death he makes preſents to his children. Some partiſans of Lewis of Bavaria, expoſtulating with him on account of his having given nothing to that unnatural ſon, "I forgive him, ſaid he, but let him know he is the cauſe of my death." 840.

His will confirms the donation of Pepin and Charlemagne to the church of Rome, which owes every thing to the kings of the Francs. One is ſurpriz d in reading the charter called *Carta diviſionis*, to find him

adding Corſica, Sardinia and Sicily to thoſe preſents. Sardinia and Sicily were diſputed between the Muſſulmans and ſome Chriſtian adventurers, which laſt had recourſe to the popes, from whom they received bulls and charity. They conſented to hold of the popes; but at that time, in order to acquire that right of fief or dependence, the popes ought to have demanded it of the emperors. It is not known whether or not Lewis the Weak actually ceded the ſuperiority of Sardinia and Corſica. As for Sicily, it belonged to the emperors of the eaſt.

Lewis expires June 20, 840.

LOTHARIUS.

Third Emperor.

IN a little time after the death of his ſon, Charlemagne's empire underwent the deſtiny of Alexander's, and of the greatneſs of the caliphs. Raiſed with precipitation, it tumbled all at once, and was divided by inteſtine wars.

841.

It is not at all ſurprizing, that princes who had dethroned their father, ſhould with to exterminate each other. Every one vied in ſtripping his brother. Lotharius the emperor wanted to have the whole. Lewis of Bavaria and Charles the ſon of Judith united againſt him. They laid waſte the empire, and drained it of ſoldiers. The two kings fought a bloody battle with their brother at Fonteney in the Auxerois. An Hundred thouſand men are ſaid to have been loſt on this occaſion. Lotharius was victor. Then he exhibited to the world an example of policy, quite contrary to that of Charlemagne. The conqueror of the Saxons and Frieſlanders had ſubjected them to Chriſtianity as a neceſſary check. Lotharius, in order to attach them to his intereſt, give them free liberty of conſcience, and one half of the country becomes idolatrous again.

The

The two brothers, Lewis of Bavaria and Charles of Aquitaine, unite by that famous oath which is almoſt the only monument * extant of the language called Romance: *Pro Deo amur & pro Chriſtian poblo, & noſtro commun ſalvament dinſt di in avant, in quant Deos ſavir & podir me dunat, &c.* This language is ſtill ſpoken by the Griſons of the valley of Engadina. 842.

An aſſembly is held at Verdun, for a treaty of partition between the three brothers. They fight and negotiate from the Rhine to the Alps. Italy waits in tranquillity, until the fate of arms ſhall give her a maſter. 843. 844.

While the three brothers tear in pieces the boſom of the empire, the Normans continue to lay waſte the frontiers with impunity. At length the three brothers ſign the famous treaty of partition, terminated at Coblentz by an hundred and twenty deputies. Lotharius remains emperor: he poſſeſſes Italy, part of Burgundy, the courſe of the Rhine, the Scheld and the Meuſe. Lewis of Bavaria keeps all the reſt of Germany. Charles, afterwards ſurnamed the Bald, is king of France. The emperor renounces all authority over theſe two brothers. Thus he is no more than emperor of Italy, without being maſter of Rome. All the great officers and noblemen of the three kingdoms, acknowledge, by an authentic act, the diviſion of the three brothers, and the ſucceſſion entailed upon their children. 845.

Pope Sergius II. is elected by the Roman people, and takes poſſeſſion of the chair, without waiting for the confirmation of the emperor Lotharius. That prince is not powerful enough to revenge the affront, but ſends his ſon Lewis to Rome to confirm the pope's election, in order to preſerve his right, and that the youth may be crowned king of the Lombards or of Italy. He likewiſe procures a regulation at Rome in an aſſembly

* Since the publication of theſe annals, other ſpecimens of this language have been offered to the public, even by our author himſelf, as appears in the courſe of our tranſlation.

of biſhops, importing that no pope ſhall be conſecrated without the confirmation of the emperor.

Mean while, Lewis in Germany, is obliged to fight, ſometimes with the Huns, ſometimes with the Normans, and ſometimes with the Bohemians. Theſe Bohemians together with the Sileſians and Moravians were idolatrous barbarians who made incurſions upon the Chriſtian barbarians with various ſucceſs.

The emperor Lotharius and Charles *the bald* have ſtill more to ſuffer in their dominions. The provinces from the Alps to the Rhine no longer know whom to obey.

There is a faction raiſed in favour of a ſon of that unfortunate Pepin king of Aquitaine, who had been ſtripped by his father Lewis *the weak*. Several tyrants made themſelves maſters of ſeveral towns. Small battles were every where fought, and in theſe there was always a number of monks, abbots and biſhops ſlain ſword in hand. Hugues that ſon of Charlemagne, who was compelled to be a monk, afterwards abbot of St. Quintin, is killed before Toulouſe, together with the abbot of Ferriere; two biſhops are there made priſoners. The Normans ravage the coaſts of France. Charles *the bald* makes no other oppoſition to them, but an obligation to pay them fourteen thouſand ſilver marks, which was a ſure way of inviting them to return.

The emperor Lotharius no leſs unfortunate cedes
847. Frieſland to the Normans, by the title of homage. This fatal cuſtom of receiving enemies for vaſſals, paves the way for the ſettlement of thoſe pirates of Normandy *.

While the Normans ravaged the coaſts of France, the Saracens entered Italy: make themſelves maſter of Sicily, advance towards Rome by the mouth of the Tyber, and plundered the rich church of St. Peter without the walls.

Pope Leo IV. in ſuch a dangerous conjuncture aſ-
ſuming

* Which pirates in a little time became a flouriſhing and a formidable people.

ſuming an authority which the generals of the emperor Lotharius ſeemed to abandon, ſhews himſelf worthy in defending Rome to command as ſovereign in that city. He had employed the riches of the church, in repairing the walls, building towers, and ſtretching chains acroſs the Tyber. He armed the militia at his own expence, engaged the inhabitants of Naples and Gaietta to come and defend the coaſt of Oſtia, without neglecting the wiſe precaution of taking hoſtages from them; well knowing that thoſe who are powerful enough to ſuccour us, have alſo the power to do us harm. He in perſon viſited all the poſts, and received the Saracens at their deſcent, not in the equipage of a warrior, like Goſlin biſhop of Paris, upon a ſtill more preſſing occaſion; but as a pontiff who exhorted a Chriſtian people, and a king who watched over the ſafety of his ſubjects. In him the courage of the firſt ages of the republic revived, in the age of cowardice and corruption, like a fair monument of old Rome, which is ſometimes found in the ruins of the new.

The Arabians are defeated, and the priſoners employed in building a new wall round St. Peter's, and in aggrandizing the city which they came to deſtroy.

Lotharius aſſociates his ſon Lewis in his feeble empire. The Muſſulmans are driven from Beneventum, but they remain in the Guarillan and in Calabria.

New diſcord among the brothers, and among the biſhops and noblemen, which renders the people ſtill more unhappy. Some Franc, and German biſhops declare the emperor Lotharius has forfeited the empire. They had no right to make this declaration, either as biſhops, or Germans and Francs, ſeeing he was only emperor of Italy. It was therefore a fruitleſs outrage. Lotharius was happier than his father. 849.

A reconciliation is effected among the three brothers. The empire is haraſſed by new incurſions of all the barbarians bordering upon the empire. 850. 851. 852.

In the midſt of theſe horrors, the miſſionary Anſcharius biſhop of Hamburg perſuades one Eric, chief, or

duke, or king of Denmark, to allow the Chriſtian religion in his dominions. He obtains the ſame permiſſion in Sweden. But the Swedes and Danes, nevertheleſs, make incurſions upon the Chriſtians.

Amidſt theſe deſolations of France and Germany, the weakneſs of Italy threatened by the Muſſulmans, the miſgovernment of Lewis of Italy, ſon of Lotharius, given up to debauchery at Pavia, and deſpiſed in Rome, the emperor of Conſtantinople negotiates with the pope for the recovery of Rome; but that emperor was no other than Michael ſtill more debauched and deſpiſed than Lewis of Italy; and all theſe circumſtances had no other effect than that of increaſing the power of the pope.

853. 854.

The emperor Lotharius, who had made his father Lewis *the weak* a monk, now makes himſelf a monk in his turn, induced by the troubles of his empire, the fear of death, and ſuperſtition. He takes the habit in the abbey of Prum, and on the 18th of September dies like a ſimpleton, after having lived as a tyrant.

855.

LEWIS II.

Fourth Emperor.

AFTER the death of this third emperor of the Weſt, new kingdoms aroſe in Europe. Lewis of Italy, his eldeſt ſon, remains at Pavia, with the vain title of emperor of the Weſt. The ſecond ſon called Lotharius after his father, has the kingdom of Lotharingia afterwards called Lorrain, extended from Geneva to Straſbourg and Utrecht. The third, whoſe name was Charles, poſſeſſed Savoy, Dauphiny with part of Lionnois, Provence and Languedoc. Theſe dominions compoſed the kingdom of Arles from the name of the capital, a city formerly opulent and embelliſhed by the Romans, but then ſmall and poor like all the other towns of this ſide of the

856.

he Alps. In the flouriſhing times of the republic and n the reigns of the Cæſars, the Romans aggrandized nd decorated the towns which they had ſubdued; but when left to themſelves or to the barbarians, all of hem went to wreck, and by their ruins atteſted the ſuperiority of the Roman genius.

A barbarian called Solomon *, ſoon after made himſelf king of Britanny, part of which was ſtill pagan; but all theſe kingdoms fell almoſt as faſt as they were raiſed.

Lewis the Germanic, begins by taking Alſace from the new king of Lorrain. He beſtows privileges upon Straſbourgh already a powerful city, when there was nothing but villages in that part of the world on the other ſide of the Rhine. The Normans deſolate France. Lewis the Germanic takes that opportunity to come and overwhelm his brother, inſtead of aſſiſting him againſt the barbarians. He defeats him near Orleans. The biſhops of France in vain excommunicate him: he reſolves to make himſelf maſter of France. The remains of the Saxons and other barbarians who invade Germany, oblige him to come and defend his own dominions. 857.

Lewis II. that phantom of an emperor in Italy, takes no ſhare in all theſe troubles, leaves the popes to ſtrengthen their own power, and dares not reſide at Rome. From 858, to 865.

Charles the Bald of France and Lewis the Germanic make peace, becauſe they could no longer make war. The moſt memorable event of that time relates to the amours of Lotharius king of Lorrain: that prince was willing to imitate Charlemagne, who repudiated his

* This ruffian murdered his own couſin, Hanſpogus duke of Britanny, at the altar; uſurped his dukedom, which he found means to raiſe into a kingdom, by the permiſſion of Charles the Bald, to whom he did good ſervice. But afterwards, quarrelling with his clergy, they excited a rebellion againſt him, and he fled to the altar for protection, where he found it not. Perceiving his death inevitable, he came forth, and was murdered by the inſurgents. The people of Britanny, in the ſequel, adored him as a ſaint.

wives and married his concubines. He divorces his wife called Thietberge, daughter of a Burgundian nobleman. She is accuſed of adultery, and confeſſes the crime. He marries his miſtreſs called Valdrade, who had been formerly promiſed to him as a wife: he procures the convocation of a council at Aix-la-Chapelle, which approves of his divorce from Thietberge. The decree of that council is confirmed by another at Metz, in preſence of the pope's legates. Pope Nicholas I. annuls the councils of Metz and Aix-la-Chapelle, and exerciſes an authority hitherto unknown: he excommunicates and depoſes ſome biſhops who eſpouſe the party of the king of Lorrain; and, finally, that king is compelled to quit the wife whom he loves, and to take back the other whom he could not love.

It were doubtleſs to be wiſhed, that there was a ſacred tribunal to apprize ſovereigns of their duty, and make them bluſh for their violences. But there does not ſeem to be any reaſon for a monarch's ſubmitting the ſecrets of his marriage-bed to the authority of a ſtranger, and the orientals appear to have always maintained cuſtoms more conformable to nature, and more favourable for the domeſtic peace of families, in conſidering all the fruits of love as legitimate, and in rendering thoſe amours impenetrable to the eyes of the public.

In thoſe times the deſcendents of Charlemagne were always by the ears together, and their kingdoms were always attacked by the barbarians.

Yonng Pepin, great grandſon of Charlemagne, ſon of the depoſed Pepin king of Acquitaine, who died without dominions, having for ſome time led a vagrant and unhappy life, joins the Normans, renounces the Chriſtian religion, and finiſhes his career in being taken and ſhut up in a convent where he dies.

It is to this year chiefly that we can fix the ſchiſm which ſtill continues between the Greek and Roman churches. Neither Germany nor France intermeddled in the affair. The people were too miſerable to mind thoſe diſputes, which are ſo intereſting, during the leiſure of peace. 866.

Charles

Charles king of Arles dies without iſſue. The emperor Lewis and Lotharius divide his dominions.

It is a deſtiny fixed to the houſe of Charlemagne, that the children ſhould take arms againſt their fathers. Lewis the Germanic had two ſons. Lewis, the younger, diſſatisfied with his portion, endeavours to dethrone him: his rebellion produces no other conſequence than that of his aſking pardon.

Lewis king of Germany defeats the Moravians and Bohemians by the hands of his ſons. Theſe are not victories which augment a ſtate and help it to flouriſh. This was nothing but repelling ſavages to their foreſts and mountains. 867. 868.

The excommunicated king of Lorrain goes to viſit the new pope Adrian at Rome, dines with him, promiſes to leave off living with his miſtreſs, and dies on his return, at Placentia. 869.

Charles the Bald ſeizes Lorrain, and even Alſace, in deſpite of the right of a baſtard of Lotharius, to whom his father had given that province. Lewis the Germanic had taken Alſace from Lotharius, but it was reſtored: Charles the Bald took, but did not reſtore it.

Lewis of Germany wants to have Lorrain; Lewis of Italy, the emperor, has the ſame inclination, and engages pope Adrian in his intereſt. No regard is paid either to the emperor or pope. Lewis of Germany and Charles the Bald divide all the dominions comprehended under the name of Lorrain in two equal parts. The Weſtern falls to the king of France, and the Eaſtern to the king of Germany. Pope Adrian threatens excommunication. They had already begun to make uſe of theſe arms; but they were deſpiſed: the emperor of Italy was not powerful enough to render them formidable. 870.

This emperor of Italy could ſcarce get the better of a duke of Beneventum, who, being at the ſame time vaſſal of the empires of the Eaſt and Weſt, would obey neither the one nor the other, and indeed kept the balance equal between them. 871.

The emperor Lewis ventures to go to Beneventum, and is put in priſon by the duke; the very ſame adven-

ture

ture that afterwards happened to Lewis XI. with the duke of Burgundy.

Pope John VIII. who ſucceeded Adrian II. ſeeing the
872. precarious ſituation of the emperor's health,
873. privately promiſes the imperial crown to Charles the Bald of France, and ſells that promiſe for a good price. This is the ſame John VIII. who paid ſuch reſpect to the patriarch Photius, ſuffering him to be named before himſelf in a council at Conſtantinople.

The Moravians, Huns, and Danes, continue to harraſs Germany; and that vaſt extent of dominion cannot as yet have the benefit of good laws.

France was not more happy. Charles the Bald had
874. a ſon called Carloman, whom he had ordered to be ſhaved in his infancy, and created a deacon againſt his own inclination. At length he fled for refuge to Metz, in the dominions of his uncle Lewis of Germany, where he levies troops; but being taken, his father orders his eyes to be put out, according to the new faſhion.

The emperor Lewis II. dies at Milan. His brother
875. Charles the Bald, king of France, paſſes the Alps, ſecures the paſſes againſt his brother Lewis of Germany, haſtens to Rome, laviſhes away his money, is proclamed king of the Romans by the people, and crowned by the pope.

If the Salique law had been in force in the family of Charlemagne, the empire muſt have belonged to the eldeſt branch of the houſe of Lewis the Germanic; but a number of troops, expedition, condeſcenſion, and a ſum of Money, conſtituted the right of Charles the Bald, and thereby he debaſed his own dignity to enjoy it. Pope John VIII. conferred the crown as ſovereign; Charles the Bald received it as a vaſſal, acknowledging that he held every thing of the pope, leaving to the ſucceſſors of that pontiff the power of beſtowing the empire, and promiſing to have always near him a vicar of the holy ſee, to determine all eccleſiaſtical affairs of conſequence. The archbiſhop of Sens was in that quality, primate of Gaul and Germany; a title become altogether uſeleſs.

Aſſuredly

Aſſuredly the popes had reaſon to believe themſelves veſted with the right of beſtowing the empire, and even of ſelling it, ſeeing they found people to aſk and to purchaſe it of their hands, and ſeeing Charlemagne himſelf had received the title of emperor from pope Leo III. But we have likewiſe reaſon to ſay, that Leo III. in declaring Charlemagne emperor, had declared him his maſter; and that prince having taken the rights attached to his dignity, it was the privilege of his ſucceſſors to confirm the popes, not to be elected by them. Time, occaſion, cuſtom, preſcription, and power, are the foundation of all right.

CHARLES THE BALD.

FIFTH EMPEROR.

CHARLES cauſes himſelf to be crowned at Pavia, king of Lombardy, by the biſhops, counts, and abbots of that country. "We elect you (it is ſaid in that act) with unanimous conſent, ſeeing you have been raiſed to the imperial throne by the interceſſion of the apoſtles St. Peter and St. Paul, and their vicar John, ſovereign pontiff," &c.

Lewis of Germany falls upon France, in order to revenge himſelf upon his brother for having prevented him from buying the empire: but death overtook him in the execution of his vengeance. 876.

The cuſtom (which leads men by the noſe) at that time, was for princes to weaken their dominions in ſharing them among their children. Accordingly Lewis the Germanic divided his dominions among his three ſons. To Carloman he gave Bavaria, Carinthia, and Pannonia; to Lewis, Frieſland, Saxony, Thuringia, and Franconia; and Charles the Groſs, or the Fat, afterwards emperor, had the half of Lorrain, with Suabia and the neighbouring countries, at that time called Germany.

This diviſion renders the emperor Charles the Bald more

more powerful; and he is reſolved to ſeize that half of Lorrain which is not in his poſſeſſion. Here follows an example of the exceſſive ſuperſtition at that time joined to rapaciouſneſs and deceit. Lewis of Germany ſends thirty men to the camp of Charles the Bald, to prove, in the name of God, that his part of Lorrain of right belongs to him. Ten of theſe thirty confeſſors take up ten rings and ten flints out of a cauldron of boiling water without being ſcalded: the ſame number carry each a red hot iron the ſpace of nine feet without being burnt; and the laſt ten, being tied with cords, are thrown into cold water, and ſink to the bottom; a ſure proof of a righteous cauſe; for water expels thoſe who are perjured, to the ſurface. 877.

Hiſtory is ſo full of thoſe proofs, that we can hardly deny the whole as apocryphal. Cuſtom, which made them common, rendered alſo thoſe arts common which make the ſkin for ſome time inſenſible to the action of fire, ſuch as oil of vitriol, and other corroſives *. With regard to the miracle of going to the bottom of the water into which they were thrown, it would have been a greater miracle, had they floated on the ſurface.

Lewis would not confine himſelf to this ceremony. He engaged near Cologne with the emperor his uncle, who being defeated, retired to Italy †, whither he was purſued by the conqueror.

Rome was then threatened by the Muſſulmans, who were

* They are ſaid to have beſmeared their hands with a preparation of liquid ſtorax, which defended them againſt the action of the fire; but, in all probability, the deception lay in the water and the iron; the firſt did not boil, and the other was not red hot.

† From what M. de Voitaire ſays here and a little after, one would imagine Charles the Bald fled to Italy immediately after the battle; but this was not the caſe. He firſt retired into France, in order to oppoſe the Normans, who had entered the Seine with a powerful fleet; then he fell dangerouſly ill, and was ſcarce recovered when the pope preſſed him to march to his aſſiſtance. In the mean time he convened an aſſembly of the nobility and prelates, to concert meaſures for the defence of his dominions, declared his only ſon Lewis regent of the kingdom, and appointed a council to aſſiſt him to govern the ſtate in his father's abſence.

were ſtill cantoned in Calabria. Carloman, that king of Bavaria, leagued with his brother of Lorrain, purſues his uncle the Bald into Italy, who finds himſelf at one time hard beſet by his nephew, by the Mahometans, and the intrigues of the Pope; and dies in October, at a village near Mount Cenis.

Hiſtorians ſay he was poiſoned by his phyſician, a Jew, whoſe name was Sedecias. Certain it is, the Chriſtian part of Europe was then ſo ignorant, that kings were obliged to employ Jews or Arabians for their phyſicians.

It is in the reign of Charles the Bald that the great feodal government began, and all things went to decay. It was under him that many poſſeſſors of great military offices, duchies, marquiſates, and countſhips, attempted to make theſe honours hereditary.

LEWIS III. OR THE STAMMERER.

SIXTH EMPEROR.

POPE John VIII. who thinks he has a right to nominate an emperor, can ſcarcely ſupport himſelf in Rome. He promiſes the empire to Lewis the Stammerer, king of France, ſon of the Bald. He promiſes it to Carloman of Bavaria; and engages himſelf to one Lambert duke of Spoleto, a vaſſal of the empire. 878.

This Lambert of Spoleto, finding himſelf deceived by the pope, joins a marquis of Tuſcany, enters Rome, ſeizes his holineſs; but is afterwards obliged to releaſe him. One Boſon, duke of Arles, likewiſe pretends to the empire.

The Mahometans were nearer the conqueſt of Rome than all their competitors. The pope agrees to pay them an annual tribute of twenty thouſand marks of ſilver. Anarchy prevails in Germany, France, and Italy.

Lewis

Lewis the Stammerer dies at Compeigne on the 10th of April. He is put in the liſt of emperors, only becauſe he was ſon of a prince who ſwayed the imperial ſceptre.

CHARLES III. or the GROSS.

Seventh Emperor.

THE buſineſs was to make an emperor and a king of France. Lewis the Stammerer left two children of fourteen and fifteen years of age. It
879. was not then a decided point whether or not an infant or minor could be king. Several new noblemen of France offered the crown to Lewis of Germany. He took no more than the Weſtern part of Lorrain, which had been the ſhare of Charles the Bald. Lewis and Carloman, the two ſons of the Stammerer, are acknowledged kings of France, although they are not unanimouſly acknowledged as legitimate children; but Boſon cauſed himſelf to be conſecrated king of Arles, augments his territory, and claims the empire. Charles the Groſs, king of the country ſtill called Germany, preſſes the pope to crown him emperor. The pope anſwers that he will beſtow the imperial crown upon him who ſhall firſt come to his aſſiſtance againſt the Chriſtians and Mahometans.

Charles the Groſs, king of Germany, Lewis king of
880. Bavaria and Lorrain, unite with the king of France againſt Boſon the new king of Arles, and make war upon him. They beſiege Vienne in Dauphiny; but Charles the Groſs marches from Vienne to Rome.

Charles is crowned and conſecrated emperor by pope
881. John VIII. in the church of St. Peter, on Chriſtmas-day.

His brother Lewis, king of Bavaria, Pannonia, what
882. was called Eaſtern France, and the two Lorrains, dies on the 20th of January in that ſame

ſame year, without iſſue. The emperor Charles the Groſs was natural heir of his dominions; but the Normans preſented themſelves in order to ſhare in them. Theſe frequent troubles of the North render the imperial power very problematic in Rome, where antient liberty ſtill thruſt out new roots: It was not known who ſhould reign in that antient capital of Europe, whether it ſhould be the people, the biſhop, or an emperor who was a ſtranger.

The pope ſends him a branch of palm, according to cuſtom; but it was the only palm he obtained.

The Normans penetrate as far as Metz; they go and burn Aix-la-Chapelle, and deſtroy all the works of Charlemagne. Charles the Groſs can find no other way of being delivered from them, than that of ſeizing all the plate belonging to the churches, and giving them 4160 marks of ſilver, with which they went away to fit out new armaments.

The empire was become ſo weak, that pope Martin II. who ſucceeded John VIII. begins with making a ſolemn decree, by which they were no longer to wait for the emperor's orders in electing popes. The emperor in vain complains of this decree. He had abundance of other affairs upon his hands. 883.

A certain duke called Zwentibold laid waſte Germany, at the head of the Moravian pagans. The emperor made peace with him as with the Normans. It is not known whether or not he had money to give him; but he acknowledged him as prince and vaſſal of the empire.

Great part of Italy is ſtill laid waſte by the duke of Spoleto and the Saracens, which laſt plunder the rich abbey of Monte Caſſini, and carry off all its treaſure; but a duke of Beneventum had been beforehand with them. 884.

Charles the Groſs marches into Italy to put a ſtop to theſe diſorders. But ſcarce is he arrived when, hearing of the death of his two nephews, the young kings of France, he repaſſes the Alps in order to claim the ſucceſſion.

Behold

Behold then Charles the Groſs, who reunites upon his head all the crowns of Charlemagne, which, however, he was not ſtrong enough to bear.

885.

A baſtard of Lotharius, called Hugues, abbot of St. Denis, had for a long time laid a ſcheme for having Lorrain as his patrimony. He engages in a league with a Norman to whom Frieſland had been ceded, and who marries his ſiſter; and he calls other Normans to his aſſiſtance.

The emperor ſtifled this conſpiracy. A count of Saxony called Henry, and an archbiſhop of Cologne, undertake to aſſaſſinate this Norman duke of Frieſland in a conference. The abbot Hugues is apprehended in Lorrain on the ſame pretext, and the cuſtom of putting out eyes is revived upon him.

He had better engaged the Normans with good armies. Theſe, finding themſelves attacked by perfidy alone, penetrate from Holland into Flanders, paſs the Somme and the Oiſe without reſiſtance, take and burn Pontoiſe, and arrive at Paris by land and water. That city, which is now ſo immenſe, was then neither large, ſtrong, nor populous. The tower of the great chatelet was not yet entirely built when the Normans appeared: they were obliged to finiſh it in a hurry with wood; ſo that the lower part was of ſtone, and the upper of carpenter's work.

The Pariſians, who expected at that time an irruption of the Barbarians, did not abandon the city as heretofore. Odo, or Eudes, count of Paris, whoſe valour afterwards raiſed him to the throne of France, put the town in ſuch order, as animated the courage of the inhabitants, and ſerved them inſtead of towers and ramparts. Sigefroi, chief of the Normans, carried on the ſiege with obſtinate fury, though not deſtitute of art. The Normans uſed the ram to batter the walls, effected a breach, and gave three aſſaults, which the Pariſians ſuſtained with unſhaken courage: they had at their head not only count Eudes, but alſo their biſhop Goſlin, who every day, after having beſtowed his benediction, poſted himſelf at the breach with a helmet on his

his head, a quiver at his back, and a battle-ax at his belt, and fought in ſight of the croſs, which he planted on the rampart. This biſhop ſeems to have had at leaſt as much authority in the city as count Eudes, ſeeing it was to him that Sigefroi, chief of the Normans, firſt addreſſed himſelf for permiſſion to enter Paris. This prelate died of fatigue in the middle of the ſiege, leaving his memory reſpected and regretted; for tho' he armed thoſe hands which his religion reſerved ſolely for the miniſtry of the altar, he armed them in defence of that very altar, and of his countrymen, in the juſteſt of all cauſes; namely, neceſſary ſelf-preſervation, which is always above the laws.

His brethern were armed only in civil wars, and againſt Chriſtians. Perhaps, if canonization is due to ſome men, it would have been better to raiſe that prelate to heaven, who fought and died for his country, than a great many obſcure men, whoſe virtue, if they had any, was uſeleſs to the world.

The Normans kept Paris beſieged a whole year and a half. The Pariſians experienced all the horrors attending famine and contagion in a long ſiege, and ſtill were unſhaken. At the end of that period, the emperor Charles the Groſs, king of France, came at length to their relief, and appeared on the mount of Mars, now called Mont-Martre*; but he durſt not attack the Normans: he came only to buy another ſhameful truce. Thoſe barbarians quit Paris to go and beſiege Sens, and plunder Burgundy, while Charles goes to Germany to aſſemble thoſe diets which deprived him of a throne of which he was ſo unworthy. 886.

The Normans continue their devaſtations; but, although enemies of the Chriſtian name, it never came into their minds to force any perſon whatever to renounce Chriſtianity. They reſembled the Francs, the Goths, the Alains, the Huns, the Heruli, who, in the fourth century, being in queſt of new ſettlements, far from impoſing their religion upon the conquered Romans, adopted with great eaſe the religion of the vanquiſhed. Thus the Turks, while they plundered the empire

* In the neighbourhood of Paris.

empire of the caliphs, ſubmitted themſelves to the Mahometan religion.

There was nothing wanting to Charles the Groſs,
887. but to be unhappy in his family: contemned in the empire, he was ſaid to be likewiſe deſpiſed by his empreſs Richarda. She was accuſed of infidelity; and he repudiated her, although ſhe offered to juſtify herſelf by the judgment of God. He ſent her to the abbey of Andelau, which ſhe herſelf had founded, in Alſace.

Charles was afterwards prevailed upon (contrary to the cuſtom of the times) to adopt the ſon of his enemy Boſon, that king of Arles. By that time his brain is ſaid to have been affected, and certainly it was; ſeeing, that, although he poſſeſſed as many dominions as Charlemagne, he brought himſelf to ſuch a paſs at to loſe all without making any reſiſtance. He is dethroned in a diet near Mentz.

The depoſition of Charles the Groſs is a ſpectacle
888. which merits great attention. Was he depoſed by thoſe who have elected him? Could a few Thuringian, Saxon, and Bavarian noblemen, aſſembled in a village called Tribur, diſpoſe of the Roman empire and the kingdom of France? No, ſure; but they could renounce their allegiance to a prince, to a chief who did not deſerve to reign. They therefore abandon the grandſon of Charlemagne for a baſtard of Carloman, ſon of Lewis the Germaine: this baſtard, called Arnold, they declare king of Germany. Charles the Groſs dies deſtitute near Conſtance, January 8, in the year 888.

The ſate of Italy, France, and ſo many other ſtates, was then uncertain.

The right of ſucceſſion was every-where little regarded. Charles the Groſs himſelf had been crowned king of France, to the prejudice of a poſthumous ſon of Lewis the Stammerer; and in contempt of the rights of that ſame ſon, the French noblemen choſe for their king Eudes count of Paris.

One Rodolphus, ſon of another count of Paris, makes himſelf king of Transjurane Burgundy.

This

This ſon of Boſon king of Arles, adopted by Charles the Groſs, becomes king of Arles by the intrigues of his mother.

The empire was now no more than a phantom; nevertheleſs, they were deſirous of ſeizing that phantom, which the name of Charlemagne ſtill rendered venerable. This pretended empire, which took the appellation of Roman, ought to have been beſtowed at Rome. One Gui duke of Spoleto, and Berengarius duke of Friuli, diſputed the name and rank of the Cæſars. Gui of Spoleto cauſed himſelf to be crowned at Rome. Berengarius aſſumes the vain title of King of Italy, and by a ſingularity worthy of the confuſion of thoſe times, comes to Langres, in order to be crowned king of Italy, in Champagne.

It was in the midſt of theſe troubles that all the noblemen cantoned themſelves: every man fortified his own caſtle: great part of the towns are altogether without government: troops of banditti ſcour the country from one end of Europe to the other; and chivalry is eſtabliſhed to reſtrain theſe robbers, and to defend ladies, or carry them off.

Several biſhops of France, and the archbiſhop of Rheims in particular, offer the kingdom of France to the baſtard Arnold, becauſe he was deſcended from Charlemagne; and they hated Eudes, who had none of that blood, except by the female ſide. 889.

Eudes king of France goes to wait upon Arnold at Worms; cedes to him part of Lorrain, which was already in Arnold's poſſeſſion; promiſes to acknowledge him as emperor, and puts into his hands the crown and ſceptre of France, which he had brought with him for that purpoſe. Arnold reſtores them, and acknowledges him king of France. This ſubmiſſion proves that the kings ſtill conſidered themſelves as vaſſals of the Roman empire: it likewiſe proves how much Eudes was afraid of the party which Arnold had in France.

The reign of Arnold in Germany is marked by unlucky events. The remains of the Saxons, intermingled with *Slaves* called Abodrites, inhabiting the diſtricts towards the Baltic, 890, 891.

between

between the Elbe and the Oder, ravage the North of Germany: the Bohemians, the Moravians, and other bodies of the *Slaves*, desolate the South, and defeat the troops of Arnold: the Huns make incursions; the Normans renew their ravages; yet no conquest is established by so many invasions. These, though transient devastations, leave Germany in a very poor and miserable condition.

At length he in person defeats the Normans near Louvain; and Germany respires. The decay of Charlemagne's empire emboldens the feeble empire of the East. A patrician of Constantinople retakes the duchy of Beneventum with some troops, and threatens Rome: but as the Greeks were obliged to defend themselves against the Saracens, the conqueror of Beneventum could not march to the ancient capital of the empire.

We have seen what reason Eudes king of France had to lay his crown at the feet of Arnold. It was his business to be well with all the world. The noblemen and bishops of France restore the crown to Charles the Simple, posthumous son of Lewis the Stammerer, whom they invite from England, whither he had fled for refuge.

As in these divisions king Eudes had implored the
893. protection of Arnold, Charles the Simple comes to implore it in his turn at the diet of Worms. Arnold takes no step in his favour; but leaves him to dispute the kingdom of France, and marches into Italy, there to dispute the name of emperor with Gui of Spoleto, Lombardy with Berengarius, and Rome with the Pope.

He besieges Pavia, in which was that emperor
894. of Spoleto, who betakes himself to flight. He secures Lombardy. Berengarius conceals himself; but even at that time we see how difficult it it was for the emperors to make themselves masters of Rome. Arnold, instead of marching to that capital, goes and holds a council at Mentz.

Arnold, after this council, which was held with a
895. view to conciliate the bishops, holds a diet at Worms, in order to procure fresh troops and

and money, and that his ſon Zuentibold might be crowned king of Lombardy.

Then he returns towards Rome. The Romans no longer deſire an emperor; but they are incapable of defending themſelves. Arnold attacks that part of the city called Leonini from the name of that famous pontif Leo IV. who had ſurrounded it with walls, and forces the place. The reſt of the city, on the other ſide of the Tiber, ſurrenders; and pope Formoſa conſecrates Arnold emperor in the church of St. Peter. The ſenators (for there was ſtill a ſenate) next day take the oath of allegiance to him in the church of St. Paul. It was the old equivocal oath: "I ſwear I will be faithful to the emperor, ſaving my fidelity to the Pope." 896.

ARNOLD.

Eighth Emperor.

A WOMAN of great courage, called Agiltrude, mother of that pretended emperor Gui of Spoleto, who had in vain armed Rome againſt Arnold, de fends herſelf ſtill againſt him. He beſieges her in the city of Fermo. Authors pretend that this heroine ſent him a poiſoned beverage, in order too ſoften his diſpoſition, and that he was weak enough to drink it. It is nonteſtable that he raiſed the ſiege; that he was ſick; that he repaſſed the Alps with the wreck of his army; that he left Italy in greater confuſion than ever; and that he returned to Germany, where he had loſt all his authority in his abſence. 896.

Germany was then in the ſame anarchy as France: the noblemen had fortified themſelves in Lorrain, Alſace, the country now called Saxony, Bavaria, and Franconia: the biſhop and abbots ſeize the rights of regality: they maintain protectors or captains, who ſwear fealty 897. 898. 899.

to

to them, and have lands for their ſervice, and theſe ſometimes protect and ſometimes plunder them *. They were formerly the advocates of the monaſteries; and when the convents became principalities, the protectors became noblemen.

The biſhops and abbots of Italy were never on the ſame footing: firſt, becauſe the Italian noblemen had more addreſs, the cities were more powerful, and richer than the hamlets of Germany and France; and, laſtly, becauſe the church of Rome, though very ill conducted, would not ſuffer the other churches of Italy to be powerful.

Chivalry and the ſpirit of chivalry ſpreads over all the Weſt. There is hardly any ſuit decided but by champions: the prieſts bleſs their arms; and they are always obliged to ſwear, before they engage, that their arms are not inchanted, and that they have not made any compact with the devil.

Arnold the emperor, deſtitute of power, dies in Bavaria in the year 899. Some authors make him die of poiſon, others of the louſy diſeaſe; but the louſy diſeaſe is a chimera †, and ſo is often the notion of poiſon.

Confuſion increaſes. Berengarius reigns in Lombardy, though in the midſt of factions. That
900. ſon of Boſon made king of Arles by the intrigues of his mother, is by the ſame intrigues acknowledged emperor at Rome. Women then diſpoſed of every thing: they made emperors and popes, who, however, had nothing but the name.

Lewis IV. is acknowledged king of Germany: to this he joins Lorrain after the death of his brother Zuentibold, and is very little ſtronger for the acquiſition.

The

* The ſame ſort of adventurers who were afterwards hired in Italy, under the name of *Condottieri*.

† We muſt beg our author's pardon; the *morbus pediculoſus* is unhappily no chimera. It proceeds from a certain depravity of the juices, which peculiary adapts them for the generation of this vermin.

The Huns and Hungarians reunited, come and ravage Bavaria, Suabia, and Franconia, where one would think there was very little more to be got. From 901 to 907.

One Moimir, who had made himſelf duke of Moravia, and a Chriſtian, goes to Rome to demand biſhops.

One Adelbert, marquis of Tuſcany, famous for his wife Theodora, is deſpotic in Rome. Berengarius ſtrengthens himſelf in Lombardy; make an alliance with the Huns, in order to hinder the new king of Germany from coming to Italy; makes war upon the pretended emperor of Arles; takes him priſoner; puts out his eyes; enters Rome, and compels Pope John IX. to crown him emperor. The Pope, after having conſecrated him, flies to Ravenna and conſecrates another emperor, called Lambert, ſon of the vagrant and needy duke of Spoleto, who aſſumes the title of Invincible and always Auguſt.

Mean while Lewis IV. king of Germany, takes alſo the title of emperor: ſeveral authors give him the title; but Sigebert ſays, on account of the evils which in his time harraſſed Italy, he did not obſerve the imperial benediction; the true reaſon is, that he was not powerful enough to cauſe himſelf to be acknowledged emperor: he had no ſhare in the troubles which harraſſed Italy in his time. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912.

LEWIS IV.

Ninth Emperor.

IN the reign of this ſtrange emperor, Germany undergoes the moſt diſmal deſolation. The Huns, hired by Berengarius to come and ravage Germany, are afterwards hired by Lewis IV. to return to their own country. Two factions ariſe, headed by the dukes of

Saxony and Franconia, and do more miſchief than the Huns. All the churches are plundered: the Hungarians return to have a ſhare of the pillage. The emperor Lewis flies to Ratiſbon, where he dies in the twentieth year of his age. Thus ended the race of Charlemagne in Germany.

CONRAD I.

Tenth Emperor.

THE German nobles aſſemble at Worms to elect a king. Theſe were ſuch as being the moſt intereſted in the choice of a prince, according to their mind, had power and credit enough to raiſe themſelves to the rank of electors. The right of inheritance was, during this century, hardly acknowledged in Europe. Election, either free or influenced, prevailed almoſt every-where; witneſs thoſe of Arnold in Germany, of Gui of Spoleto, of Berengarius in Italy, of Don Sancho in Arragon, of Eudes, Robert, Raoul, Hugues Capet in France, and of the emperors of Conſtantinople; for ſo many vaſſals and ſo many princes were deſirous of having the right to chooſe a chief, and the hope of being choſen.

912.

It is pretended that Otho duke of the new Saxony, was choſen by the diet, but that finding himſelf too old he himſelf propoſed Conrad duke of Franconia, though he was his own enemy, becauſe he thought him worthy of the throne. This action is not at all in the ſpirit of thoſe almoſt ſavage times. We find ambition, deceit and courage in this as in all ages; but to begin even from Clovis, we find not one action of magnanimity *.

Conrad

* This is being too ſevere on human nature. Charlemagne, and others of that age, exhibited many proofs of magnanimity, which is not at all inconſiſtent with ſavage ferocity; but the milder virtues of humanity were not unfolded 'till long after this period.

Conrad was never acknowledged emperor either in Italy or France. The Germans only accuſtomed to ſee emperors in their kings ſince Charlemagne, gave him, it is ſaid, that title.

The reign of Conrad makes no alteration in the ſtate of Germany. He has wars with his vaſſals, and particularly with the ſon of that duke of Saxony to whom he is ſaid to have owed the crown. From 913 to 919.

The Hungarians ſtill make war upon Germany, and he is wholly ingroſſed in repulſing them. During this period the French make themſelves maſters of Lorrain. If Charles had made that conqueſt, he would not have deſerved the name of Simple; but he had miniſters and generals of another ſtamp. He creates a duke of Lorrain.

The biſhops of Germany confirm themſelves in the poſſeſſion of their fiefs. Conrad dies in the year 919 in the little town of Weilbourg. It is pretended that before his death he named Henry duke of Saxony for his ſucceſſor, to the prejudice of his own brother. It is not very likely that he ſhould think he had a right to chooſe a ſucceſſor, or that he would have choſen his own enemy.

The name of this pretended emperor was not known in Italy, during his reign. Lombardy became a prey to to diviſions, Rome to the moſt horrid ſcandal, and Naples and Sicily to the devaſtations of the Saracens.

It was at this time that the proſtitute Theodora at Rome* raiſed to the Papal chair John X. who was as great a proſtitute as herſelf.

HENRY THE FOWLER.

ELEVENTH EMPEROR.

IT may be of conſequence to obſerve, that in this time of anarchy, ſeveral hamlets of Germany began to enjoy the rights of natural 920.

 liberty,

* This woman was ſo powerful, by means of the marquis of Tuſcany, that ſhe kept poſſeſſion of the caſtle of St. Angelo, and raiſed

liberty, after the example of the Italian cities. Some purchaſed theſe rights of their lords, others had ſupported them ſword in hand. The deputies of theſe towns concur with the biſhops and noblemen, in order chooſe an emperor, and are in the rank of electors. Thus Henry I. ſurnamed the Fowler, duke of Saxony, is elected by the three eſtates. Nothing is more natural than that all thoſe, who are concerned in being well governed, ſhould concur in eſtabliſhing the government.

From 921 to 930. One of the rights belonging to the kings of Germany, as well as to the kings of France, was always to fill the vacant Biſhoprics.

The emperor Henry has a ſhort war with the duke of Bavaria, and puts an end to it by ceding to him the right of appointing biſhops in his own dukedom.

Theſe years produce very few events in which the fate of Germany is intereſted. The moſt important is the affair of Lorrain. It had been ſtill undecided whether it ſhould belong to Germany or France.

Henry the Fowler ſubdues all high and low Lorrain in the year 925, and wreſts it from the hands of duke Giſilbert, to whom it had been given by the kings of France. He afterwards reſtores it to that duke, that it might depend upon Germany. This Lorrain was no other than a diſmembered part of the kingdom of Lotharingia. It was Brabant, part of the country of Liege, afterwards diſputed by the biſhop of Liege, with the lands between Metz and Franche Comté, diſputed alſo by the biſhop of Metz. This country in the ſequel returned to France, from which it was afterwards ſeparated again.

Henry enacts laws which are more intereſting than the events and revolutions with which hiſtory is loaded. He extricates what could be extricated from the feodal anarchy. Vaſſals and under vaſſals conſent to furniſh ſoldiers

raiſed John, who was her galant, to the papacy ——Her Daughter Maroſia equalled her mother in beauty, libertiniſm, and influence.

ſoldiers and corn for their ſubſiſtence. He changes into cities the depopulated towns, which the Huns, Bohemians, Moravians and Normans had laid waſte. He builds Brandenbourgh, Miſnia and Sleſwick, where he ſettles marquiſes to guard the marches of Germany. He re-eſtabliſhes the ruined abbeys of Herſort and Corbie; and plans ſeveral cities, ſuch as Gotha, Herſort and Goſlar.

The ancient Saxons, *Slaves*, Abodrites, and their neighbours the Vandals are repulſed. His predeceſſor Conrad had conſented to pay a tribute to the Hungarians, and hitherto it was paid by Henry the Fowler, who, in a little time, freed Germany from that diſgrace.

It is ſaid, that when the Hungarian deputies came to demand their tribute, Henry gave them a mangy dog. It was a puniſhment inflicted upon German knights, when they had committed crimes, to carry a dog for the length of a league. This coarſe cuſtom, worthy of thoſe times, does not at all detract from the greatneſs of their courage; true it is, the Hungarians come and do more miſchief than the tribute would have coſt; but at length they are repulſed and defeated. From 930 to 936.

Then he cauſes the towns to be fortified, as a check upon the barbarians; and leaves the ninth man in ſome provinces with which theſe towns are garriſoned. He exerciſes the nobility in juſts and a kind of tournaments: in one of theſe near a thouſand gentlemen are ſaid to have entered the liſts.

Theſe tournaments had been invented in Italy, by the Lombard kings, and were called *Batagliole*.

Having provided for the defence of Germany, he reſolves at length to go to Italy, after the example of his predeceſſors, in order to receive the imperial crown.

The troubles and ſcandalous practices of Rome were increaſed. Maroſia daughter of Theodora had raiſed to St. Peter's chair the young John XI. produced by her adultery with pope Sergius III. and governed the church in the name of her ſon. Of all the tyran's

which overwhelmed Italy the Germans were moſt hated at Rome.

Henry the Fowler reckoning upon his forces, thought to have made his advantage of thoſe troubles; but he died upon the road in Thuringia in the year 936. The only reaſon for calling him emperor, is becauſe he was deſirous of receiving the imperial throne, and it was the cuſtom to give him that appellation.

OTHO I. SURNAMED THE GREAT.

TWELFTH EMPEROR.

AT length we come to a true emperor. The dukes, counts, biſhops, abbots, and all the powerful noblemen aſſembled at Aix-la-Chapelle, elect
936. Otho, ſon of Henry the Fowler. It is not mentioned that the deputies of the towns gave their votes. Perhaps the great noblemen having gained an acquiſition of power, under Henry the Fowler, had deprived the towns of this right.

The archbiſhop of Mentz ſignifies this election to the people, conſecrates the new emperor, and ſets the crown upon his head. It may be obſerved, that the prelates dine at the emperor's table; and that the dukes of Franconia, Suabia, Bavaria and Lorrain, ſerve at table; the duke of Franconia, for example, in quality of ſteward, and the duke of Suabia as cup-bearer. This ceremony was performed in a wooden gallery, in the midſt of the ruins of Aix-la-Chapelle, which had been burnt by the Huns, and was not yet rebuilt.

The Huns and Hungarians come again to interrupt the feſtival: they advance to Weſtphalia, but are repulſed.

Bohemia was then intirely barbarous, and but one half Chriſtian. Luckily for Otho, it is em-
937. broiled in civil wars, of which he takes the advantage as ſoon as poſſible. He renders Bohemia tributary to Germany, and there eſtabliſhes Chriſtianity.

Otho

Otho endeavours to make himſelf deſpotic, and the noblemen of the great fiefs to render themſelves independent. This great quarrel, ſometimes open, ſometimes concealed, ſtill ſubſiſts in the minds of men. after a ſeries of eight hundred years, as well as the quarrel between Rome and the empire. 938. 939. 940.

This ſtruggle between royal power, which always ſeeks increaſe, and liberty, which will not yield, hath for a long time agitated all the Chriſtian part of Europe. It ſubſiſted in Spain as long as the Chriſtians had to fight with the Moors, after which the ſovereign authority got uppermoſt. It was this that involved France in troubles, to the middle of the reign of Lewis XI. This that has at length eſtabliſhed in England the mixed government to which ſhe owes her greatneſs; and this that hath cemented in Poland the liberty of the nobles and the ſlavery of the people. The ſame ſpirit hath troubled Sweden and Denmark, and founded the republics of Switzerland and Holland: and the ſame cauſe hath every where produced different effects.

The duke of Bavaria refuſing to do homage, Otho enters that country with an army, and reduces the duke to ſome allodial territories. He creates one of the duke's brothers count palatine in Bavaria, and another count palatine towards the Rhine. This dignity of Count Palatine is revived from the counts of the palace of the Roman emperors, and of the Francs.

He beſtows the ſame dignity upon a duke of Franconia. Theſe Palatines are at firſt ſupreme judges. They judge in the laſt appeal in the name of the emperor. This ſupreme reſource of juſtice is, next to an army, the greateſt ſupport of ſovereignty.

Otho diſpoſes at pleaſure of dignities and lands. The firſt marquis of Brandenburgh dying without iſſue, he gives the marquiſate to one count Gerard, who was not related to the defunct*.

* At the diet at Arenſberg, held about this time, it was debated whether children could inherit the effects of their fathers, while their grandfathers were ſtill alive; as the point could not be determined

The more Otho affects abſolute power, the more he is oppoſed by the noblemen of the great fiefs: and from that very time begins the cuſtom of having recourſe to France to ſupport the fœdal Government in Germany againſt the authority of the German kings.

The dukes of Franconia and Lorrain and the prince of Brunſwick addreſs themſelves to Lewis Ultramarine, king of France, who enters Lorrain and Alſace and joins the allies.

Otho anticipates the French king; and upon the Rhine near Briſach defeats the dukes of Franconia and Lorrain, who are ſlain in battle.

He deprives the houſe of Franconia of the title of Palatine: ſettles it upon the houſe of Bavaria, and annexes to it lands and caſtles. Thus was formed the preſent palatinate of the Rhine.

941. As the German noblemen of the great fiefs had called the king of France to their aſſiſtance, the noblemen of France, in like manner, ſolicit the aſſiſtance of Otho. He purſues Lewis Ultramarine through the whole country of Champagne; but is recalled into Germany by conſpiracies.

942. 943. 944. The deſpotiſm of Otho alienates the minds of men to ſuch a degree, that his own brother Henry duke of one part of Lorrain, had united with ſeveral noblemen to deprive him of his throne and life. He returns therefore to Germany ſtifles the conſpiracy, and pardons his brother, who was in all probability powerful enough to be intitled to that favour.

He augments the privileges of biſhops and abbots, in order to oppoſe them to the noblemen. He beſtows the title of prince, with all the rights of regality, upon the biſhop of Triers. He gives the duchy of Bavaria to his brother Henry, who had conſpired againſt him, and leaves the natural heirs quite deſtitute. This is the greateſt proof of his abſolute power.

At

determined any other way, it was referred to the combat trial: accordingly, an equal number of combatants, being choſen on each ſide, entered the liſts; and the champions of the children, having obtained the victory, the proceſs was determined in their favour.

At that time the race of Charlemagne, which ſtill reigned in France, was reduced to the loweſt ſtate of degredation. They had in 912 ceded 945. Neuſtria properly ſo called to the Normans, 946. and even Brittany, which then became an under-fief of France.

Hugues, duke of the iſle of France, of the blood of Charlemagne by the female line, father of Hugh Capet, ſon-in-law by his firſt marriage to Edward I. king of England*, and brother-in-law of Otho by his ſecond marriage, was one of the moſt powerful noblemen in Europe, and the king of France at that time one of the moſt inconſiderable. This Hugues had recalled Lewis Ultramarine to crown and ſerve him, and was called Hugues or Hugh the Great, becauſe he had made himſelf powerful at the expence of his maſter.

He was allied with the Normans who had made the unfortunate Ultramarine priſoner. That king, releaſed from captivity, was left almoſt without towns or territory. He was likewiſe brother-in-law of Otho, whoſe ſiſter he had married. He demands his protection, in conſequence of ceding all his rights over Lorrain.

Otho marches to the neighbourhood of Paris, beſieges Rouen, but being abandoned by the count of Flanders, returns to his own dominions after a fruitleſs expedition.

Otho, being unable to conquer Hugh the Great, cauſes him to be excommunicated. He convokes a council at Triers, where the pope's 947. legate pronounces the ſentence at the deſire of 948. Otho's chief almoner. Nevertheleſs Hugh continues maſter in France.

There was, we have ſeen, a margrave at Sleſwick, in the Cimbrique Cherſoneſus, to check the incurſions of the Danes. They kill this margrave. Otho haſtens thither in perſon, retakes the town, ſecures the frontiers; and makes peace with Denmark on

* This Edward muſt not be confounded with *Long-Shanks*, commonly called Edward I. He was of the Saxon race, and ſon of the renowned Alfred, a prince not unworthy of ſuch a father.

condition that Chriſtianity ſhould be preached in that country.

From thence Otho goes to hold a council at Ingelheim, near Mentz. Lewis Ultramarine, who
949. had no army, demanded this council of pope Agapetus; a poor reſource againſt Hugh the Great.

There the German biſhops and Marini the pope's legate appear as judges, Otho as protector, and Lewis of France as a ſuppliant. Lewis demands juſtice, and ſays: "I have been acknowledged king by the ſuffrages of all the noblemen. If it is pretended that I have committed ſome crime which merits the treatment I ſuffer, I am ready to take my trial before the council, according to Otho's order; or I will maintain my innocence in ſingle combat."

This miſerable addreſs proves the cuſtom of duels; the deplorable condition of the king of France, the power of Otho, and the election of kings. The right of blood ſeemed then no more than a recommendation to obtain votes. Hugh the Great is ſummoned to this vain council; though nobody ſuppoſed he would appear.

Otho gives the inveſtiture of Suabia, Augsburg, Conſtance and Wirtenberg to his ſon Ludol-
950. phus, "ſaving the rights of the biſhops."

Otho returns to Bohemia; defeats the duke Bol, who
951. is called Boleſlaus. The word *Slas* among theſe people ſignified chief. From hence they were at firſt called *Slaves*, which name in the ſequel fell to thoſe whom they had conquered. The emperor confirms the vaſſalage of Bohemia, and there eſtabliſhes the Chriſtian religion. All beyond was ſtill pagan, except ſome marches of Germany. From that time he reſolved to renew the empire of Charlemagne; and a woman paved the way.

Adelaide*, ſiſter of a petty king of transjurane Burgundy, widow of the king or uſurper of the kingdom of Italy, being oppreſſed by another uſurper Berengarius II. who beſieges her in Canoſſa, calls Otho to her aid.

* She is generally denominated *Alix*.

aid. Thither he marches, delivers, and being then a widower, marries this princeſs. He enters Pavia in triumph with Adelaide: but it required both time and diligence to ſubdue the reſt of the kingdom, and eſpecially Rome, which would by no means ſubmit to him.

He leaves his army to a prince called Conrad, his own ſon-in-law, whom he had made duke of Lorrain; and, what was very common in thoſe times, goes to hold a council at Augſburg inſtead of purſuing his conqueſts. There were Italian biſhops at that council: perhaps he had no other view in this, but to diſpoſe people to receive him in Italy. 952.

His marriage with Adelaide, which ought to have ſecured him in the poſſeſſion of Italy, was like to have made him loſe it in a very little time. 953.

His ſon Ludolphus, to whom he had given ſo many dominions, but who was afraid that his mother-in-law would give him a maſter; and his ſon-in-law Conrad, to whom he had given Lorrain, but from whom he had taken the command in Italy, conſpire againſt him; an archbiſhop of Mentz, and a biſhop of Augsburg join theſe confederates; he marches againſt his ſon, and, inſtead of making himſelf emperor at Rome, is obliged to maintain a civil war in Germany.

His unnatural ſon calls the Hungarians to his aſſiſtance; and it coſts him abundance of trouble to repel them from the banks of the Rhine and the neighbourhood of Cologne, whither they had advanced. 954.

Otho had a brother called Bruno, an eccleſiaſtic, whom he procures to be elected archbiſhop of Cologne, and to whom he gives Lorrain.

The arms of Otho prevail. His ſons and their adherents aſk pardon; the archbiſhop of Mentz returns to his duty. The king's ſon deviates from it again: at length he comes barefoot and throws himſelf at his father's feet. The Hungarians, whom he called in, far from following his example in aſking forgiveneſs, lay waſte the country. Otho gives them battle, and defeats them at Augſburg: he ſeems to have been ſtrong 955.

enough

enough to defeat, but not to purſue and deſtroy them; although his army was compoſed of legions formed after the model of the ancient Roman legions.

The fears of the ſon of Otho are realized. Adelaide is delivered of a prince, who is Otho II.

The deſigns upon Rome ripen, but the affairs of Germany prevent their being diſcloſed. The *Slaves* and other Barbarians deluge the North of Germany, as yet but very ill ſecured in ſpite of all the cares of Otho. Inconſiderable wars towards Luxemburg and Hainault, which belonged to Lower Lorrain, continue ſtill to employ his arms.

From 956 to 960.

Ludolphus, that ſon of Otho who was ſent into Italy againſt Berengarius, dies in that country either of the plague or of poiſon.

Berengarius was then abſolute maſter of the ancient kingdom of Lombardy, though not at Rome. But he neceſſarily had a thouſand quarrels with her, like the ancient Lombard kings.

A ſon of Maroſia, called Octavian Sporco, was elected pope at the age of eighteen, by the credit of his family. He takes the name of John XII. in memory of his uncle John XI. This is the firſt pope who changed his name at his acceſſion to the pontificate. He was not even in orders, when his family made him pontiff. He was a young man who lived like a prince, and was a lover of arms and pleaſure.

It is ſurpriſing, that, under ſo many ſcandalous popes, the Roman church loſt neither her prerogatives nor pretenſions; but at that time almoſt all the other churches were governed in this manner. The biſhops having always ſomething to aſk of Rome, either orders or favours, did not abandon their intereſt for a few ſcandalous practices more than uſual; and it was their intereſt to be always united to the Roman church, becauſe that union made them more reſpected by the people, and more conſiderable in the eyes of the ſovereigns. The clergy of Italy might then deſpiſe the popes; but they revered the papacy the more, as they aſpired to that exalted ſtation: finally, in the opinion of mankind, the place was ſacred even when the perſon was damnable.

The

The Italians at length call Otho to their aſſiſtance: they wanted (ſays Luitprand, a cotemporary writer) to have two maſters, that they might not have one in reality. This is one of the principal cauſes of the long miſeries of Italy.

Otho, before he ſets out for Italy, takes care to have his ſon Otho, born of Adelaide, though but in the ſeventh year of his age, elected king of Germany. A new proof that the right of ſucceſſion did not exiſt. He takes the precaution of cauſing him to be crowned at Aix-la-chapelle by the archbiſhops of Cologn, Mentz and Triers, aſſembled for that purpoſe. The archbiſhop of Cologn performs the function firſt; this was Bruno, the brother of Otho. 960.

He paſſes the Alps of the Tirol; once more enters Pavia, which always falls to the firſt occupier; and receives the crown of Lombardy at Monſa. 961.

While Berengarius flies with his family, Otho marches to Rome; and the gates are opened to him. John XII. crowns him emperor. He confirms the donations of Pepin, Charlemagne, and Lewis the Weak. He takes the pope's oath of allegiance on the body of St. Peter; and ordains that there ſhall be always commiſſaries of the emperor at Rome. 962.

This inſtrument, written in letters of gold, ſubſcribed by ſeven biſhops of Germany, five counts, two abbots, and ſeveral Italian prelates, is ſtill kept in the caſtle of St. Angelo. The date is of the 13th of February, in the year 962. Lotharius king of France, and Hugh Capet, afterwards king, are ſaid to have been preſent at this coronation. Theſe kings of France were indeed ſo weak, that they might have ſerved as ornaments at the conſecration of an emperor; but the names of Lotharius and Hugh Capet are not found in the ſignatures of this act.

All that was then done at Rome concerning the churches of Germany, was to erect Magdeburgh into an archbiſhop's ſee, and Meſburg into a biſhopric, for the converſion of the Slaves, that is, the people who inhabited Moravia, part of Brandenburg, Sileſia, &c.

Scarce

Scarce had the pope given himſelf a maſter, when he repented of what he had done. He leagues with that ſame Berengarius who had fled for refuge among the Mahometans cantoned upon the coaſt of Provence, and ſolicits the Hungarians to enter Germany; this was the ſtep he ought to have taken before.

963. The emperor Otho having finiſhed the conqueſt of Lombardy, returns to Rome. He aſſembles a council. Pope John XII. hides himſelf. He is accuſed in full council in the church of St. Peter of having committed fornication with ſeveral women, particularly with one called Etienetta, his father's concubine; of having conferred the biſhopric of Lodi upon a child of ten years; of having ſold ordinations and benefices, of having put out the eyes of his godfather, of having firſt caſtrated and then put to death a cardinal, and laſtly of not believing in Jeſus Chriſt, and of having invoked the devil; two articles that ſeem to contradict one another.

This young pontiff, who was then but ſeven and twenty, was ſaid to be depoſed for his inceſts and ſcandalous practices; but the true reaſon was his having endeavoured, like all the Romans, to deſtroy the German power in Rome.

A new pope, called Leo VIII. is elected in his room. Otho was not able to ſecure the perſon of John XII. or, if he was, he committed a great error.

964. The new pope Leo VIII. if we may believe the diſcourſe of Arnold biſhop of Orleans, was neither an eccleſiaſtic, nor even a Chriſtian.

John XII. a debauched pope, but an enterprizing prince, excites an inſurrection of the Romans, from the receſſes of his retreat; and while Otho goes to beſiege Camerino, the pontiff, aſſiſted by his miſtreſs, re-enters Rome. He depoſes his competitor, orders the right-hand of cardinal John to be cut off, becauſe it had written the depoſition againſt him; oppoſes council to council, and enacts a ſtatute, importing that "an inferior ſhall never have power to deprive his ſuperior of his rank;" or, in other words, that no emperor ſhall ever have power to depoſe a pope. He flatters himſelf with

with the hope of driving the Germans from Italy; but, in the midſt of his great deſign, he is aſſaſſinated in the embraces of one of his miſtreſſes.

He had animated the Romans, and raiſed their courage to ſuch a pitch, that even after his death they ventured to ſupport a ſiege, and did not ſurrender to Otho until reduced to the laſt extremity.

Otho, twice conqueror of Rome, orders it to be declared in council, that "after the example of the bleſſed Adrian, who gave to Charlemagne the right of electing popes and inveſting all biſhops, the ſame rights were given to Otho". This title, ſtill extant in Gratian's collection, is ſuſpected; but, that which is not ſuſpected, is the great care the victorious emperor took to ſecure himſelf in the poſſeſſion of all his rights.

After ſo many oaths, the emperors ought to have reſided at Rome to enforce the obſervation of them.

He returns to Germany. He finds all Lorrain in rebellion againſt his brother Bruno, archbiſhop of Cologn, who at that time governed in Lorrain. He is obliged to abandon Triers, Metz, Toul and Verdun, to their reſpective biſhops. High Lorrain falls into the hands of a count of Bar, and this country alone is what we now call Lorrain. Bruno reſerves no more than the provinces of the Rhine, the Meuſe and the Scheld. This Bruno was a learned man, as much detached from grandeur as his brother Otho the emperor was ambitious. 965.

The houſe of Luxemburg takes that name from the caſtle of Luxemburg, which they receive in exchange from an abbot of St. Maximin in Triers.

The Poles begin to embrace Chriſtianity.

Scarce was the emperor Otho returned to Germany, when the Romans reſolve to be free. They expel pope John XIII. who was attached to the emperor. The prefect of Rome, the tribunes and the ſenate, think to revive the antient republic. But that which at one time was an enterprize of heroes, at another ſeaſon becomes a ſeditious inſurrection. Otho flies back to Italy, and orders one half of the ſenate to be hanged. The prefect of Rome, who wanted to be another 966.

another Brutus, was ſcourged in the public ſtreet, carried in proceſſion naked upon an aſs, and thrown into a dungeon, where he died in extreme miſery. Theſe executions do not at all recommend the German government to the Italians.

967. The emperor ſends for his young ſon Otho to Rome, and aſſociates him in the empire.

968. He negotiates with Nicephorus Phocas, emperor of the Greeks, a match between his own ſon and that emperor's daughter. The Greek deceives him; and Otho deprives him of Apulia and Calabria, by way of dower to the young princeſs Theophania, whom, however, he has not in his power.

969. To this year almoſt all the chronologiſts place the adventure of Otho, archbiſhop of Mentz, who was beſieged in a tower in the middle of the Rhine by an army of mice that ſwam the river and devoured him. Probably thoſe, who ſtill load hiſtory with ſuch childiſh trifles, have no other deſign than that of leaving upon record thoſe antient monuments of weak ſuperſtition, to ſhew from what darkneſs Europe is ſcarce delivered.

970. John Zimiſſes, who dethrones the emperor Nicephorus, ſends at length the princeſs Theophania to Otho, for his ſon: almoſt all authors agree that Otho had Apulia and Calabria with that princeſs: but the learned and exact Giannoni has proved that he never received that rich dower.

Otho returns victorious to Saxony, which was his native country.

971. 972. 973. The duke of Bohemia, vaſſal of the empire, invades Moravia, which becomes an appendage to Bohemia.

A biſhop is eſtabliſhed at Prague. He is nominated by the duke of Bohemia, and conſecrated by the archbiſhop of Mentz.

At that time the archbiſhops of Madgebourg laid the foundation of their power. The title of metropolitan of the North, and their extenſive territories were one day to make them great princes.

Otho

Otho dies at Minleben, May 7th, 973: with the glory of having re-eſtabliſhed the empire of Charlemagne in Italy. But Charles was the avenger of Rome; Otho the conqueror and oppreſſor; nor had his empire ſuch vaſt and firm foundations, as that of Charlemagne.

OTHO II.

THIRTEENTH EMPEROR.

IT plainly appears that emperors and kings were now made by election. Otho II. having been already elected emperor and king of Germany, contents himſelf with being proclaimed at Madgebourg by the clergy and nobility of the country, which compoſed a middling aſſembly. 974.

The deſpotiſm of the father, the fear of abſolute power, perpetuated in one family; but, above all, the ambition of Henry duke of Bavaria, Otho's couſin, induces one third of Germany to rebel.

Henry of Bavaria cauſes himſelf to be crowned emperor by the biſhop of Friſingen. Poland and Denmark eſpouſe his party, not as members of Germany and the empire, but as neighbours whoſe intereſt it was to diſturb its peace.

The party of Otho II. is the firſt that arms, and by this diligence he preſerves the empire. His troops ſurmount the intrenchments which ſeparate Denmark from Germany, and which ſerve no other purpoſe than that of demonſtrating the weakneſs of that nation. 975.

He enters Bohemia, which had declared for Henry of Bavaria; he marches to the duke of Poland, who is ſaid to have taken the oath of allegiance to Otho as a vaſſal.

It is to be obſerved, that all theſe oaths were taken on the knee, with the hands joined together, and thus the biſhops adminiſtered the oath to kings.

Henry

Henry of Bavaria being abandoned, is impriſoned at
976. Quidlembourg; and from thence exiled to Elrick, with the biſhop of Augſbourg, who was his partizan.

The limits of Germany and France were then very
977. uncertain. There was no longer any mention made of Eaſtern and Weſtern France. The kings of Germany extend their territorial ſuperiority as far as the confines of Champagne and Picardy. By territorial ſuperiority we muſt not underſtand a direct dominion or poſſeſſion of lands, but the ſuperiority of the lands, the right of paramount and of fine. In the ſequel, this expreſſion of territorial ſuperiority hath, by meer ignorance of the terms, been applied to the actual poſſeſſion of the Domains which hold of the empire, which is, on the contrary, a territorial inferiority.

The dukes of Lorrain, Brabant and Hainault, had done homage for their lands to the laſt kings of Germany. Lotharius, king of France, revives his pretenſions to theſe countries. The royal authority began to be a little vigorous in France at this time, and Lotharius took the advantage of the conjuncture to attack at once High and Low-Lorrain.

Otho aſſembles near ſixty thouſand men, ravages all
978. Champagne, and penetrates even to Paris. At that time they neither knew how to fortify the frontiers, or make war in the open country. Military expeditions were no more than ravages.

Otho, in his return, is defeated in croſſing the river Aine. Geoffroi, count of Anjou, ſurnamed Griſegonnelle, purſues him, without ceaſing, in the foreſt of Ardenne, and propoſes, according to the rules of chivalry, to decide the quarrel by ſingle combat. The emperor refuſes the challenge, either becauſe he thought it was beneath his dignity to fight hand to hand with Griſegonnelle, or becauſe, being cruel, he wanted courage.

The emperor and king of France make peace, in
979. conſequence of which, Charles, brother of Lotharius, receives Low-Lorrain from the emperor,

emperor, together with part of High-Lorrain. He does homage to him on his knees, and this ſubmiſſion is ſaid to have coſt his poſterity the kingdom of France; at leaſt Hugh Capet made uſe of that pretext to make him odious.

While Otho II. ſtrengthened himſelf in Germany, the Romans had endeavoured to ſhake off the German yoke. One Cencius was declared 980. conſul, and he and his party had made a pope whoſe name was Boniface VII. A count of Toſcanella, who was enemy to his faction, had elected another pope, and Boniface VII. had gone to Conſtantinople to invite the Greek emperors Baſilius and Conſtantine to come and retake Rome. The Greek emperors were not ſtrong enough for ſuch an enterprize. To them the pope joined the Arabians of Africa, chooſing to make Rome Mahometan rather than German. The Chriſtian Greeks and Muſſulman Africans unite their ſquadrons, and together take poſſeſſion of the country of Naples.

Otho II. repairs to Italy, and marches to Rome.

As Rome was divided, he found immediate admiſſion. He lodges in the pope's palace, invites ſeveral 981. ſenators, and the partizans of Cencius to dinner. Soldiers enter during the repaſt, and murder the gueſts. This was renewing the times of Marius, and this was all that remained of antient Rome. But is the fact really true? Geofroi of Viterbo relates it two hundred years after it is ſuppoſed to have happened.

After this bloody feaſt it is neceſſary to march into Apulia, to fight the Greeks and Saracens, 982. who came to revenge, and ſerve the city of Rome. He had a number of Italian troops in his army, and they were good for nothing but treaſon.

The Germans are intirely defeated. The biſhop of Augſburg and abbot of Fuld are killed, fighting in the field of battle. The emperor eſcapes in diſguiſe, and embarks as a paſſenger in a Greek veſſel. This veſſel ſails near Capua; the emperor throws himſelf into the ſea, ſwims aſhore, and takes refuge in Capua.

Things

Things were now on the brink of a great revolution. The Germans had well nigh loſt all Italy; the
983. Greeks and Muſſulmans were going to quarrel about Rome; but Capua is ſtill fatal * to the conquerors of the Romans. The Greeks and Arabians cannot agree: their army is inconſiderable: they give Otho time to re-aſſemble the wreck of his troops, and to declare his ſon Otho, who was but ten years old, emperor at Verona.

One Otho duke of Bavaria had been killed in the battle. Bavaria is given to his ſon. The emperor marches by Rome with his new army.

After having ſacked the infidel Beneventum, he cauſes his chancellor of Italy to be elected pope. One would imagine he would have marched againſt the Greeks and Arabians. No ſuch matter: he holds a council. All theſe circumſtances plainly ſhew that his army was weak, that the conquerors were as weak, and the Romans weaker than either. Inſtead of going to fight, therefore, he confirms the erection of Hamburg and Bremen into an archbiſhop's ſee: he makes regulations for Saxony; and dies in Rome, September 7th, without glory, though he leaves his ſon emperor. The Greeks and Saracens retreat, after having ruined Apulia and Calabria, made as bad a figure in war as Otho, and raiſed the whole country againſt them.

OTHO III.

Fourteenth Emperor.

HOW ſhould Germany acknowledge an emperor and king of the Romans, who was but ten years old, acknowledged only at Verona, and whoſe
983. father was defeated by the Saracens. That ſame Henry of Bavaria who had diſputed the crown with

* Alluding to the conduct of Hannibal, who, inſtead of beſieging Rome, immerſed himſelf in the delights of Capua.

with the father, eſcapes from the priſon of Maeſtricht, in which he was confined; and under pretence of acting as tutor to his couſin, the young emperor Otho III. ſecures his perſon, and conducts him to Madgebourg.

Germany is divided into two factions. Henry of Bavaria is ſupported by Bohemia and Poland; but the greateſt part of the lords of the great fiefs, and the biſhops, hoping to be more their own maſters under a prince of ten years of age, oblige Henry to ſet the young Otho at liberty, and acknowledge him as emperor; in conſideration of which he is at laſt reinſtated in the poſſeſſion of Bavaria. 984.

Otho III. is then ſolemnly proclaimed at Weiſſemſtadt.

He is ſerved at dinner by the great officers of the empire: Henry of Bavaria performs the office of ſteward, count palatine of great cup-bearer, the duke of Saxony of great maſter of the horſe, the duke of Franconia of great chamberlain: the dukes of Bohemia and Poland are preſent as great vaſſals.

The education of the emperor is committed to the care of the archbiſhop of Mentz and the biſhop of Ildeſheim.

During theſe troubles, Lotharius king of France attempts to retake High-Lorrain, and makes himſelf maſter of Verdun.

After the death of Lotharius, Verdun is reſtored to Germany. 986.

Lewis V. the laſt king in France of the race of Charlemagne, dying in the ſecond year of his reign, Charles duke of Lorrain, his uncle and heir of blood, in vain pretends to the crown of France: Hugh Capet, by his power and addreſs, proves that the right of election was then in force. 987.

The abbot of Verdun obtains at Cologn, permiſſion to go without a ſword, and refuſes to command in perſon the ſoldiers he owes when the emperor raiſes forces. 988.

Otho III. confirms all the privileges of the biſhops and abbots: their privilege and their duty was then,

to

to wear the ſword, ſeeing the abbot of Verdun had occaſion to ſue for a particular diſpenſation.

The Danes chooſe this opportunity to enter by the Elbe and the Weſer. They now began to perceive in Germany, the neceſſity of negotiating with Sweden againſt Denmark; and the biſhop of Sleſwick is charged with this negotiation.

989.

The Swedes defeat the Danes at ſea. The north of Germany has a little reſpite.

The reſt of Germany becomes a prey to feuds between private noblemen; and theſe feuds, which the ſovereigns cannot appeaſe, ſhew that they had more right than power. The caſe is ſtill worſe in Italy.

990.

Pope John XV. ſon of a prieſt, at that time poſſeſſed the chair, and was favourable to the emperor Creſcentius, the new conſul, ſon of the conſul Creſcentius, whoſe father was John X. had a mind to maintain the ſhadow of the antient republic, and expelled the pope from Rome. The empreſs Theophania, mother of Otho III. had come with troops, under the command of the marquis of Brandenbourg, to maintain the imperial authority in Italy.

While the marquis of Brandenbourg is at Rome, the *Slaves* ſeize his marquiſate.

The *Slaves*, with a crew of other Barbarians, beſiege Madgebourg: they are repulſed with difficulty: they retire to Pomerania, and cede ſome villages of Brandenbourg, which extend the marquiſate.

From 991, to 996.

Auſtria was then a marquiſate alſo, and no leſs unhappy than Brandenbourg, being the frontier of the Hungarians.

The emperor's mother had returned from Italy, without having been able to appeaſe the troubles of that country, and died at Nimeguen. The cities of Lombardy did not acknowledge the emperor.

Otho III. levies troops; beſieges Milan, where he is crowned; elects his relation * pope Gregory V. as he

* Whoſe name was Bruno.

he had elected a biſhop of Spire; and is conſecrated in Rome by his kinſman, together with his empreſs Maria, daughter of Don Garcia, king of Arragon and Caſtile.

It is ſtrange that the modern authors, Maimbourg, and ſo many others, ſhould ſtill relate the fable of the amours of this empreſs with a count of Modena, and the puniſhment of the galant and his miſtreſs. It is pretended, that the emperor, being more incenſed againſt the miſtreſs than the galant, ordered his wife to be burnt alive, and only condemned his rival to loſe his head; and that the count's widow, having proved her huſband's innocence, had four fine caſtles by way of indemnification. This fable had already been invented upon one Andaberta, wife of the emperor Lewis II. Theſe are romances, the falſity of which is proved by the ſage and learned Muratori. 997.

The emperor, acknowledged at Rome, returns to Germany; finds the *Slaves* maſters of Bernbourg; and deprives the archbiſhop of Magdebourg of the government of that country, becauſe he had allowed himſelf to be defeated by the *Slaves*.

While Otho III. is employed againſt the Barbarians of the North, the conſul Creſcentius at Rome expels Gregory V *. by whom he is excommunicated at Pavia; and Otho repairs to Italy, in order to puniſh the conſul. 998.

Creſcentius ſuſtains a ſiege in Rome, which, however, he ſurrenders in a few days, and retires into Adrian's Mole, then called the Mole of Creſcentius, and now the Caſtle of St. Angelo. There he dies fighting, though the manner of his death is not known; but he ſeems to have deſerved the name of Conſul, which he bore. The emperor takes his widow for a miſtreſs; and by his orders the pope, nominated by Creſcentius, has his tongue and eyes pulled out. But, indeed, Otho and his miſtreſs are ſaid to have done penance, to have gone in pilgrimage to a monaſtery, and even to have lain upon a ruſh mat. He

* He likewiſe elevated another perſon to the papacy by the name of John XVI. whom Otho cauſed to be thrown from the top of the caſtle of St. Angelo, after his eyes had been put out, and his noſe cut off.

He makes a decree by which the Germans only ſhall
999. have the right to elect a Roman emperor, and the popes ſhall be obliged to crown him. Gregory V. his relation, did not fail to ſign this decree, and the following popes to reject it.

Otho returns to Saxony, and paſſes into Poland: he
1000. beſtows the title of king upon the duke, but not upon his deſcendents. We ſhall ſee in the ſequel, that the emperors created kings and dukes by breviate. Boleſlaus receives the crown from him, does homage to the empire, and obliges himſelf to pay a ſlight annual ſervice.

Pope Sylveſter II. ſome years after conferred the ſame title upon him, pretending that none but the Pope had a right to beſtow it. It is very ſtrange that one ſovereign ſhould demand a title from another; but cuſtom makes every thing familiar. Hiſtorians ſay, that Otho, going afterwards to Aix-la-Chappelle, ordered the tomb of Charlemagne to be opened, and found that emperor ſtill undecayed, ſitting upon a throne of gold, with a crown of precious ſtones upon his head, and a great golden ſceptre in his hand. If Charlemagne had been interred in this manner, the Normans, who deſtroyed Aix-la-Chappelle, would not have left him upon his throne of gold.

The Greeks then abandon the country of Naples;
1001. but the Saracens often repeated their viſits. The emperor repaſſes the Alps, in order to put a ſtop to their progreſs, and that of the defenders of the Italic liberty, more dangerous than the Saracens.

The Romans beſiege his palace in Rome; and all he
1002. can do is to fly with the Pope and his miſtreſs the widow of Creſcentius: he dies at Paterno, a ſmall town of the Campagnia of Rome, near thirty years of age. Several authors ſay he was poiſoned by his miſtreſs, becauſe he would not make her empreſs; others, that he was poiſoned by the Romans, who wanted no emperor. This fact may be probable, but it is not at all proved. His death left as undecided as ever that long ſtruggle of the papacy againſt

againſt the empire, of the Romans againſt both, and of the Italian liberty againſt the German power. This is what keeps Europe always attentive; this is the clue that conducts us through the labyrinth of the Hiſtory of Germany.

Thoſe three Othos, who re-eſtabliſhed the empire, have all three beſieged Rome, and filled the ſtreets with blood, and Arnold had ſacked it before their time.

Otho III. left no children. Twenty noblemen pretend to the empire: one of the moſt powerful was Henry duke of Bavaria, and the moſt obſtinate of his rivals was Eckard marquis of Thuringia. The marquis is aſſaſſinated to facilitate the election of the Bavarian, who, at the head of an army, cauſes himſelf to be conſecrated at Mentz, July 19. 1003.

HENRY II.

Fifteenth Emperor.

SCARCE is Henry of Bavaria crowned, when he cauſes Herman duke of Suabia and Alſace, who was his competitor, to be declared an enemy to the empire. He engages Straſbourg in his intereſt: it was already a powerful city. He ravages Suabia; marches into Saxony; exacts the oath of allegiance from the duke of Saxony, the archbiſhops of Magdebourg and Bremen, the counts palatine, and even Boleſlaus king of Poland. He is acknowledged by the *Slaves* who inhabit Pomerania. 1003.

He marries Cunegonda, daughter of the firſt count of Luxembourg: he makes a progreſs though the provinces; receives the homage of the biſhops of Liege and Cambray, who take the oath upon their knees. At laſt he is acknowledged by the duke of Saxony, who like the reſt takes the oath.

The efforts of the Italian weakneſs againſt the German government are inceſſantly renewed. A certain marquis de Ivrea, called Ardouin, attempts to make himſelf king of Italy. He is elected by the noblemen, and takes the title of Cæſar: then the archbiſhops of Milan began to pretend that a king of Lombardy could not be made without their conſent, as the popes pretended that an emperor could not be made without theirs. Arnolphus, archbiſhop of Milan, addreſſes himſelf to king Henry; for the Italians were they, who invited the Germans, whom they could neither bear with, nor be without.

Henry ſends troops to Italy under Otho duke of Carinthia. King Ardouin defeats theſe troops near the Tirol. The emperor Henry could not leave Germany, where he was detained by troubles of another nature.

The new Chriſtian king of Poland takes advantage
1004. of the weakneſs of Boleſlaus duke of Bohemia; makes himſelf maſter of his dominions, and puts out his eyes, conforming himſelf to the practice of the Chriſtian emperors of the Eaſt and Weſt: he takes all Bohemia, Miſnia, and Luſatia. Henry II. contents himſelf with demanding that he will do him homage for the dominions he has invaded. The king of Poland laughs at the demand, and engages in an alliance with ſeveral princes of Germany againſt Henry, who therefore is reſolved to preſerve Germany, before he goes to oppoſe the new Cæſar of Italy.

He reconciles himſelf to the biſhops; negotiates
1005. with the noblemen, levies ſoldiers, and diſconcerts the aſſociation.

The Hungarians began to embrace Chriſtianity through the care of the miſſionaries, whoſe ſole aim is to extend their religion, while that of princes is to extend their dominions.

Stephen, chief of the Hungarians, who had married the ſiſter of Henry the emperor, becomes a Chriſtian about this time; and, luckily for Germany, makes war with his Chriſtian Hungarians againſt the idolatrous Hungarians.

The

The church of Rome, which had allowed itſelf to be anticipated by the emperors, in the nomination of a king of Poland, is before-hand with them in regard to Hungary. Pope John XIX. confers upon Stephen of Hungary the title of king and apoſtle, with the right of having the croſs carried before him like the archbiſhops; and Hungary is divided into ten biſhoprics much better filled with idolaters than with Chriſtians.

The archbiſhop of Milan preſſes Henry II. to come to Italy againſt his king Ardouin. Accordingly Henry ſets out for that country by the way of Bavaria, the ſtates or parliament of which are then electing a duke: and Henry of Luxembourg, the emperor's brother-in-law, is unanimouſly choſen. An important fact which ſhews the rights of the people were reckoned of ſome conſideration.

Henry, before he paſſes the Alps, leaves his wife Cunegonda in the hands of the archbiſhop of Magdebourg. It is pretended, that he had made a vow of chaſtity with her: a vow of imbecility in an emperor.

He is no ſooner in the neighbourhood of Verona, than the Cæſar Ardouin betakes himſelf to flight. We always ſee the kings of Italy when the Germans are not there; but as ſoon as theſe ſet foot in Italy, the kings are ſeen no more.

Henry is crowned at Pavia: There they conſpire againſt his life. He ſtifles the conſpiracy, and after abundance of bloodſhed pardons the conſpirators.

He doth not go to Rome, but, according to the cuſtom of his predeceſſors, quits Italy with all poſſible diſpatch.

It is always the fate of the German princes to be recalled by troubles at home, when they might ſecure their dominions in Italy. 1006.

He goes to defend the Bohemians againſt the Poles. Being received in Prague, he gives the inveſtiture of the duchy of Behemia to Jaromir. He paſſes the Oder,

purſues the Pols into their own country, and makes peace with them.

He builds Bamberg, and there founds a biſhopric; but he gives the feodal lordſhip to the pope: He is ſaid to have reſerved to himſelf no more than the right of lodging in the caſtle.

He aſſembles a council at Frankfort upon the Main, ſolely on account of this new biſhopric of Bamberg, which the biſhop of Wurzburg oppoſes as a diſmembering of his biſhopric. The emperor proſtrates himſelf before the biſhops: they diſcuſs the rights of Bamberg and Wurtzburg, without coming to any agreement.

The Pruſſians or Boruſſians begin to be talked of.

1007. They were barbarians who lived upon horſes blood: inhabiting latterly the deſerts between Poland and the Baltick. They are ſaid to have worſhipped ſerpents. They frequently plunder the territories of Poland. There muſt have been ſomething to be got amongſt them, ſeeing the Poles alſo made incurſions into their country.

Otho duke of Low-Lorrain, the laſt known deſcendant of Charlemagne, being dead,

1008. Henry II. gives that duchy to Godfrey

1009. count of the Ardennes. This donation is productive of troubles. The duke of Bavaria takes the advantage of them to diſturb Henry, but is expelled from Bavaria.

Herman, ſon of Eckard of Thuringia, receives

1010. from Henry II. the marquiſate of Miſnia.

War is ſtill carried on with Poland. It is only ſince

1011. ſhe is become a feudatory to Germany, that Germany has wars with her.

Glougau already exiſted in Sileſia, and is beſieged: The Sileſians were united with the Poles.

Henry, fatigued with all theſe troubles, is deſirous of

1012. being made canon of Straſbourg. He makes a vow to that purpoſe, and in order to accompliſh his vow founds a canonate, the poſſeſſor of which is called *King of the Choir*. Having laid aſide the

the design of being a canon, he goes to fight the Poles, and calms the troubles in Bohemia.

At this period is placed the adventure of Cunegonda, who being accused of adultery, after having made a vow of chastity, proves her innocence by handling red hot iron. This tale must be ranked with the funeral pile of the empress Mary of Arragon.

As soon as the emperor quitted Italy, Ardouin repossessed himself of it, and the archbishop of Milan incessantly intreats Henry II. 1013. to come and reign.

Henry repasses the Alps of Tyrol a second time; and the *Slaves* seize that very conjuncture to renounce the little Christianity they knew, and ravage the whole territory of Hamburgh.

As soon as the emperor is in the Veronals, Ardouin betakes himself to flight. The Romans 1014. are ready to receive Henry. He comes to Rome to be crowned with Cunegonda. Pope Benedict VIII. changes the form. He first asks him on the steps of St. Peter's: "Will you be faithful in all things to me and my successors?" This was a kind of homage which the cunning of the pope extorted from the simplicity of the emperor.

The emperor goes to subdue Lombardy. He passes through Burgundy, visits the abbey of Clugni, and desires to be associated in the community. He afterwards repairs to Verdun, and desires to become a monk in the abbey of St. Vall. It is pretended that the abbot being wiser than Henry, said to him: "Monks owe obedience to their abbots: I order you to continue emperor."

These years produce nothing but petty wars in Bohemia and on the frontiers of Poland. All 1015. that part of Germany from the Elbe, is 1016. more barbarous and miserable than ever. 1017. Every nobleman who could arm a few 1018. peasants (serfs,) made war upon his neighbour: and when the possessors of the great fiefs had wars of their own to maintain, they obliged their

vaſſals to leave their own particular quarrels to come and ſerve them. This was called The Law of Truce.

How could the emperors chooſe to live in the midſt of ſuch barbarity, inſtead of going to reſide at Rome? Becauſe, in order to be acknowledged by the Romans, it was neceſſary to be powerful among the Germans.

The emperor's authority was ſtrengthened in Lombardy by his lieutenants. But the Saracens ſtill continued their depredations upon Sicily, Apulia, and Calabria, and this year fell upon Tuſcany. But their incurſions in Italy were like thoſe of the *Slaves* and Hungarians in Germany. They were no longer in a condition to make conqueſts, becauſe they were divided and weakened in Spain. The Greeks ſtill poſſeſſed great part of Apulia and Calabria governed by a Catapan. One Millo prince of Bari and a prince of Salerno took arms againſt this Catapan.

1019. 1020. 1021.

Then appeared, for the firſt time, thoſe Adventurers of Normandy, who afterwards founded the kingdom of Naples. They ſerved Millo againſt the Greeks. Pope Benedict VIII. and Millo, being equally afraid of the Greeks and Saracens, go to Bamberg to demand ſuccour of the emperor.

Henry II. confirms the donations of his predeceſſors to the ſee of Rome, reſerving to himſelf the ſovereign power. He confirms a decree made at Pavia, by which the clerks are reſtricted from having either wives or concubines.

There being a neceſſity for oppoſing the Greeks and Mahometans in Italy, he goes thither in the Spring. His army is chiefly compoſed of biſhops at the head of their own troops. This holy emperor, who would not ſuffer an under-deacon to have a wife, allowed the biſhops to wallow in human blood: inconſiſtencies too frequent among men.

1022.

He ſends troops towards Capua and to Apulia, but does not make himſelf maſter of the country: and it was but an indifferent conqueſt to ſeize the abbot of Monte

Monte Caſſini who had declared againſt him, and cauſe another to be elected in his room.

He very ſoon repaſſes the Alps according to the maxim of his predeceſſors, never to ſtay long from Germany. He agrees with Robert, king of France, to have an interview in a boat upon the Meuſe between Sedan and Mouſon. The emperor anticipates the king of France by frankly going to the camp. This was rather a viſit of friends, than a conference of kings; an example which hath been ſeldom imitated. 1023.

The emperor afterwards makes the tour of great part of Germany in profound peace, leaving every where marks of juſtice and generoſity. 1024.

He felt his end approaching, although he was but two and fifty years of age: and hiſtorians write, that before his death he ſaid to the parents of his wife: "You gave me her a virgin, and I reſtore you her a virgin:" a very ſtrange declaration from a huſband, and ſtill more ſtrange from a crowned huſband. He died July 14, and his body is carried to Bamberg, which was his favourite town. The canons of Bamberg canonized him an hundred years after his death.

CONRAD II.

Surnamed THE SALIC.

SIXTEENTH EMPEROR.

ONE cannot ſufficiently wonder at the prodigious number of diſſertations upon the ſeven pretended electors who were ſuppoſed to be inſtituted at this time. Be this at it will, there never had been a greater aſſembly than that in which Conrad II. was elected. They were obliged to hold it in the open fields, between Worms and Mentz. The dukes of Saxony, Bohemia, Bavaria, Carinthia, 1024.

Suabia, Franconia, of High and Low Lorrain, together with a prodigious number of counts, biſhops and abbots, gave their votes. It muſt be obſerved that the magiſtrates of the towns were preſent, though they did not give their ſuffrages. They incamped ſix weeks in the field of election, before it was determined.

At length the choice fell upon Conrad ſurnamed the Salic, becauſe he was born on the river Sal. He was a nobleman of Franconia, whom they derived from Otho the Great by the female line. In all probality he was choſen as the leaſt dangerous of all the pretenders. Indeed, we find no great towns belonging to him; and he is no more the chief of powerful vaſſals, every one of whom is as powerful as himſelf.

Germany was always conſidered as the centre of the empire; and the name of the emperor ſeems to have been confounded with that of the king of Germany. The Italians ſnatched all opportunities to ſeparate theſe two titles.

1025, 1026.

The deputies of the great fiefs in Italy come, and offer the empire to Robert, king of France; at that time, it was the preſent of an unſubſtantial title, and of ſubſtantial wars: therefore Robert wiſely refuſes the proffer. They addreſs themſelves to the duke of Guienne, a peer of France, who accepts it, becauſe he had leſs to loſe. But pope John XX. and the archbiſhop of Milan, bring Conrad the Salic into Italy. Firſt of all his ſon Henry muſt be elected and crowned king of Germany. It was then the cuſtom of France, and of every other nation.

He is obliged to beſiege Pavia. He undergoes ſeditions at Ravenna. Every German emperor though invited to Italy, meets with a bad reception.

Scarce is Conrad crowned at Rome, when he finds himſelf no longer in ſafety. He returns to Germany, where he finds a faction againſt him. Theſe are the cauſes of the frequent journeys of the emperors.

1027.

The

Henry, duke of Bavaria, being dead, Stephen, king of Hungary, his relation by his mother, demands Bavaria, to the prejudice of the laſt duke's ſon. A proof that the rights of blood were not yet thoroughly eſtabliſhed: indeed, nothing was. The emperor gives Bavaria to the ſon. The Hungarians attempt to take it by force of arms. They fight, and then peace is made; and, after the death of this Stephen, the emperor has credit enough to raiſe one Peter, a kinſman of Stephen, to the throne of Hungary: he has moreover power enough to exact homage, and extort a tribute from the ſaid Peter, whom the incenſed Hungarians call Peter the German. The popes, who ſtill believed they had erected Hungary into a kingdom, would not have wiſhed to hear him called Peter the Roman. 1028, 1029, 1030.

Erneſt, duke of Suabia, who had taken arms againſt the emperor, is put to the ban of the empire. Ban, at firſt, ſignified Banner, afterwards Edict or proclamation, and then Baniſhment. This is one of the firſt examples of that proſcription. The form was: "We declare thy wife a widow, thy children orphans, and we ſend thee, in the name of the devil, to the four corners of the earth."

At this time the ſovereigns of Sileſia began to be known. They are neither under the yoke of Bohemia nor of Poland. Poland inſenſibly detaches itſelf from the empire, which it will no longer acknowledge. 1031, 1032.

If the empire loſes one vaſſal in Poland, it acquires an hundred in the kingdom of Burgundy. 1032,

Rhodolphus, the laſt king, who had no children, leaves at his death, his dominions to Conrad the Salic. This was but a very ſmall extent of dominion, with the territorial ſuperiority, or at leaſt pretenſions to the ſuperiority, that is, right of paramount over the Swiſs, the Griſons, Provence, Franche-Comté, Savoy, Geneva and Dauphiny. From hence the lands on the other ſide of the Rhine are ſtill called the lands of the empire. All the noblemen of thoſe cantons, 1033, 1034.

who formerly held of Rodolphus, now hold of the emperor.

Some biſhops were likewiſe erected into feudatory princes. Conrad gave them all the ſame rights. The emperors ſtill raiſe the biſhops in order to oppoſe them to the noblemen; for they were always at eaſe when thoſe two bodies were divided, and very much diſturbed when they were united.

The ſees of Lyons, Beſançon, Ambrun, Vienna, Lauſanne, Geneva, Baſil, Grenoble, Valence, Gap, and Die, were imperial fiefs.

Of all the feudatories of Burgundy, one only lays the foundations of a durable power: that is Humbert, with the white hands, from whom the dukes of Savoy are deſcended. He had no more than the Morienne, when the emperor gave him the Chablaie, the Valais, and St. Maurice: in the ſame manner, from Poland to the Scheld, and from the Saone to Garillan, the emperors every where created princes, and looked upon themſelves as lords paramount of almoſt all Europe.

Italy, ſtill involved in troubles, recals Conrad. That ſame archbiſhop of Milan, who had crowned the emperor, was for that very reaſon againſt him; becauſe his rights and petenſions were augmented by it. Conrad cauſes him to be apprehended with three other biſhops. He is afterwards obliged to beſiege Milan, which, however, he could not take. There he loſes part of his army, and of conſequence, his credit at Rome.

From 1035 to 1039.

He goes to make laws at Beneventum and Capua; but, in the mean time, the Norman adventurers make conqueſts in that country.

At length he re-enters Milan by means of negotiations, and returns to Germany, according to cuſtom.

He is taken ill, and dies at Utrecht *, June 4, 1039.

HENRY

* Leaving behind him the reputation of a juſt, generous and magnanimous Prince. A gentleman, who had loſt his leg in his ſervice, was gratified with as many pieces of gold as one of his boots could contain, which the emperor told him, were given to defray the expence of his cure.

HENRY III.

Seventeenth Emperor.

HENRY III. ſurnamed *the Black*, ſon of Conrad, already crowned while his father was alive, is acknowledged without difficulty. He is crowned and conſecrated a ſecond time by the archbiſhop of Cologn. The firſt years of his reign are ſignalized by wars with Bohemia, Poland and Hungary, which, however, produce no great event. From 1039 to 1042.

He beſtows the archbiſhopric of Lyons, and inveſts the archbiſhop, by the croſs and ring, without any contradiction; two circumſtances very remarkable, which prove that Lyons was an imperial town, and that the kings poſſeſſed the right of inveſting biſhops.

Rome and Italy were involved as uſual in great confuſion.

The houſe of Toſcanella had always the chief authority in Rome. It had purchaſed the pontificate for a child of twelve years of age belonging to that family. Two others having purchaſed it at the ſame time, theſe three pontiffs ſhared the revenues equally among them, and agreed to live peaceably, leaving all political affairs to the chief of the houſe of Toſcanella. From 1042 to 1046.

This ſingular triumvirate continued as long as they had money to conſult their pleaſures; and when they had no more, each ſold his part of the papacy to the deacon Gratian, whom father Maimbourgh calls, An Holy Prieſt, a man of quality, very rich. But as young Benedict XI. had been elected a long time before the other two, he by a ſolemn agreement was allowed to enjoy the tribute which England then paid to Rome, under the appellation of St. Peter's Pence; and to which the kings of England had long ſubmitted.

This

This Gratian, who took the name of Gregory VI. and who is reckoned to have conducted himself wisely, enjoyed the pontificate in peace, when the emperor Henry III. came to Rome.

Never emperor exercised more authority in that place. He deposed Gregory VI. as having been guilty of simony, and nominated to the papacy his own chancellor, Suidger *, bishop of Bamberg, without any person's daring to murmur.

The chancellor, become pope, consecrates the emperor and his wife, and promises all that the popes have at any time promised to the emperors, when these last happened to be the stronger.

Henry III. bestows the investiture of Apulia, Calabria, and almost all the Beneventine, except
1047. the town of Beneventum, and its territory, upon the Norman princes, who had conquered these countries from the Greeks and Saracens. The popes did not, at that time, pretend to give these dominions. The town of Beneventum then belonged to the Pandolphi of Toscanella.

The emperor returns to Germany, and fills all the vacant sees.

The duchy of Mosellanic Lorrain is given to Gerard of Alsace, and that of Low-Lorrain to the
1048. house of Luxembourg. The house of Alsace, since that time, is known only by the titles of marquises and dukes of Lorrain.

The pope being dead, we again find the emperor giving a pope to Rome, just as he gave away any other benefice. Henry III. sends a Bavarian called Popo, who is immediately acknowledged as pope, under the name of Damasus II.

Damasus dying, the emperor, in the assembly of Worms, nominates Bruno, bishop of Toul,
1049. to the papacy, and sends him to take possession. This is pope Leo IX. the first who kept his own bishopric together with that of Rome. It is not surprizing that the emperors should thus dispose of the holy

* Alias Heidegger.

holy ſee. Theodora and Maroſia had accuſtomed the Romans to this ſubmiſſion, and without Nicholas II. and Gregory VII. the pontificate would have been always dependent. Their feet would have been kiſſed, and they themſelves would have been ſlaves.

The Hungarians kill their king Peter, renounce the Chriſtian religion, and the homage they had done to the empire. Henry III. makes war upon them unſucceſsfully *; and cannot put an end to it any other way, but by giving his daughter in marriage to Andrew the new king, who was a Chriſtian, although his ſubjects were not. 1050, 1051, 1052.

Pope Leo IX. comes to Worms, to complain to the emperor that the Norman princes were become too powerful. 1053.

Henry III. reſumes the fœdal rights of Bamberg, and gives the pope the town of Beneventum in exchange. He could give the pope no more than the town, as the Norman princes had done homage to the empire for the reſt of the duchy: but the emperor furniſhed the pope with an army to expel theſe new conquerors, who were become too near neighbours to Rome.

Leo IX. marches againſt them with this army, one half of which is commanded by eccleſiaſtics.

Humfroid, Richard, and Robert Guiſcard, or Guichard, thoſe Normans ſo famous in hiſtory, cut in pieces the pope's army, though three times as numerous as their own. They take the pope priſoner, proſtrate themſelves before him, and lead him captive to the town of Beneventum.

The emperor affects abſolute power. The duke of Bavaria being at war with the biſhop of Ratiſbon, Henry III. eſpouſes the biſhop's cauſe, ſummons the duke of Bavaria to appear before his privy council, ſtrips him of his dominions, and gives 1054.

Bavaria

* So ſays Heiſs; but the Saxon Chronicles affirm that he defeated Andrew in a bloody battle, deprived him of great part of his dominions, and obliged him to accept of peace, on condition that he ſhould pay a large yearly tribute in money, and furniſh him with a certain number of fighting men.

Bavaria to his own ſon Henry, about three years of age. This is the famous Henry IV.

The duke of Bavaria takes refuge among the Hungarians, whom he in vain endeavours to intereſt in his revenge.

The emperor propoſes to the noblemen, who are moſt attached to his intereſt, to ſecure the empire to his ſon, who was an infant. He is accordingly declared king of the Romans, in the caſtle of Tribur near Mentz. This was not a new title: it had been aſſumed by Ludolphus, the ſon of Otho I.

He makes a treaty of alliance with Contarini duke
1055. of Venice. That republic was already rich and powerful; though it did not coin money 'till after the year 950; and was not infranchiſed 'till after 998, from the acknowledgment of a mantle of cloth of gold, the only tribute which it had paid to the emperors.

Genoa was its rival in power and commerce. She was already in poſſeſſion of Corſica, which ſhe had taken from the Arabians; but her trade was much more advantageous than the poſſeſſion of Corſica, which the Piſans diſputed with her.

There were no ſuch towns in Germany; all beyond the Rhine was poor and wretched. The people of the North, and thoſe of the Eaſt, ſtill poorer, continued to ravage theſe countries.

1056. The *Slaves* make another irruption, and deſolate the duchy of Saxony.

Henry III. dies near Paderborn, in the arms of pope Victor II. who before his death conſecrates his ſon Henry emperor, in the ſixth year of his age.

HENRY IV.

Eighteenth Emperor.

A Woman governs the empire. She was French, daughter of a duke of Guienne peer of France, called Agnes, mother of the young emperor Henry IV. She, who had by right of guardianſhip the patrimonial eſtates of her ſon, had that of the empire, becauſe ſhe was poſſeſſed of courage and addreſs. 1056.

The firſt years of the reign of Henry IV. are obſcure times of trouble.

Private noblemen make war upon one another in Germany. The duke of Bohemia ſtill vaſſal of the empire, is attacked by Poland, which will no longer be a member of it. From 1057 to 1069.

The Hungarians, ſo long formidable to Germany, are at length obliged to ſolicit ſuccours of the Germans againſt the Poles, become dangerous, and notwithſtanding that ſuccour they are defeated. King Andrew and his queen fly for refuge to Ratiſbon.

No policy or great deſign ſeems to have influenced theſe wars, which are produced from the ſlighteſt cauſes; ſometimes they are derived from the ſpirit of Chivalry, by this time introduced into Germany. A count of Holland, for example, goes to war againſt the biſhops of Cologn and Liege, on account of a quarrel that happened in a tournament.

The reſt of Europe takes no ſhare in the affairs of Germany, there is no war with France, no influence in England and the North, and very little at that time in Italy, though Henry IV. was both king and emperor of that country.

The empreſs Agnes finds it difficult to maintain her regency.

At

At length, in 1661, the dukes of Saxony and Bavaria, uncles of Henry IV. the archbiſhop of Cologne, and other princes, carry off the emperor from his mother, who is accuſed of ſacrificing every thing to the biſhop of Augſburg, her miniſter and galant. She flies to Rome, and there takes the veil; and the noblemen remain maſters of the emperor, and of Germany during his minority.

Mean while, after abundance of troubles in Italy, ſtill excited on account of the pontificate, pope Nicholas II. in 1059, had decreed in a council of an hundred and thirteen biſhops, that for the future the cardinals only ſhould elect the pope, who ſhould afterwards be preſented to the people, to have the election confirmed. "Saving, added he, the honour and reſpect due to our dear ſon Henry, now king, who, if it pleaſes God, ſhall be emperor, according to the right which we have already conferred upon him."

Thus advantage was taken of the minority of Henry IV. to eſtabliſh the rights and pretenſions which the pontiffs of Rome always maintained when they could.

At that time a cuſtom was eſtabliſhed, which the dread of the rapaciouſneſs of a thouſand petty tyrants of Italy had introduced. A man gave his lands to the church under the title of Oblata, and continued feudatory poſſeſſor for a ſlight acknowledgment. This is the origin of the ſuperiority of Rome, over the kingdom of Naples.

The ſame pope Nicholas II. after having in vain excommunicated the Norman conquerors, made protectors and vaſſals of them, and thoſe who were feudatories of the empire, and leſs afraid of the popes than of the emperors, do homage for their lands to pope Nicholas, in the council of Melphi, in the year 1059. The popes in the beginning of their power reſembled the caliphs in the decay of their dominions; they beſtowed the inveſtiture on the ſtrongeſt competitor.

Robert receives of the pope the ducal crown of Apuglia and Calabria, and is inveſted by the ſtandard. Richard is confirmed prince of Capua; and the pope, moreover,

moreover, gives them Sicily, in caſe they expel the Saracens from that iſland.

In effect, Robert and his brothers make themſelves maſters of Sicily in 1061, and thereby do the greateſt ſervice to Italy.

It was not till long after this period that the popes got poſſeſſion of Beneventum, left by the Norman princes to the Pandolphi of the houſe of Toſcanella.

Henry IV. being now of age, frees himſelf from the captivity in which he was detained by the dukes of Saxony and Bavaria. 1069.

Every thing was then in the moſt horrible confuſion. This may be judged by the right of ranſoming travellers; a right which all the noblemen from the Maine and the Weſer to the country of the *Slaves*, reckoned among their feudal prerogatives.

The right of pillaging the emperor ſeemed likewiſe very natural to the dukes of Bavaria, Saxony, and the marquis of Thuringia, who form an aſſociation againſt him.

Henry IV. aſſiſted by the reſt of the empire, diſſipates this aſſociation. 1070.

Otho of Bavaria is put to the ban of the empire. He was the ſecond ſovereign of that duchy who underwent this diſgrace. The emperor gives Bavaria to Guelfe, ſon of Azo marquis of Italy.

The emperor, though young and addicted to pleaſure, makes a progreſs through Germany, to eſtabliſh ſome ſort of order. 1071, 1072.

The year 1072 is the firſt æra of the famous quarrel about the inveſtitures.

Alexander II. had been elected pope without conſulting the imperial court, in ſpite of which he had maintained his ſtation. Hildebrand, born at Soanne in Tuſcany, of parents unknown, a monk of Clugni under the abbot Odilo, and afterwards cardinal, governed the pontificate. He is well known by the name of Gregory VII. a man of an enterprizing genius, turbulent, and fiery, but artful, even in the midſt of his impetuoſity; the moſt inſolent of men, and the moſt zealous of prieſts. He had already by his councils eſtabliſhed and reinforced the authority of the church.

He

He perſuades pope Alexander to ſummon the emperor to his tribunal. This would ſeem to have been a ridiculous piece of raſhneſs; but if we conſider the ſituation of the emperor, it was not. Saxony, Thuringia, and great part of Germany, had then declared againſt Henry IV.

Alexander II. dying, Hildebrand has credit enough
1073. to be elected by the people, without aſking the votes of the cardinals, or waiting for the emperor's conſent. He writes to that prince, that he had been elected againſt his will, and was ready to reſign. Henry IV. ſends his chancellor to confirm the election of the pope, who, having nothing further to fear, takes off the maſque.

Henry continues to make war upon the Saxons, and
1074. the aſſociation formed againſt him. Henry IV. is conqueror.

The Ruſſians began to be Chriſtians, and to be known
1075. in the Weſt.

One Demetrius (for the Greek names had penetrated even to that part of the world) expelled from his dominions by his brother, comes to Mentz, and implores the aſſiſtance of the emperor; and what is ſtill more remarkable, ſends his ſon to Rome to proſtrate himſelf at the feet of Gregory VII. as the judge of the Chriſtians. The emperor was counted the temporal, and the pope the ſpiritual chieftain of Europe.

Henry totally deſtroys the aſſociation, and reſtores peace to the empire.

He ſeems to have been afraid of new revolutions; for he writes a very humble letter to the pope, in which he accuſes himſelf of debauchery and ſimony; and we muſt believe his word. His confeſſion gives Gregory the right of rebuking him. This is the faireſt of all rights: But it does not give him that of diſpoſing of crowns.

Gregory VII. writes to the biſhops of Bremen, Conſtance, the archbiſhop of Mentz, and others, and orders them to come to Rome. "You have permitted clerks, ſays he, to keep concubines, and even to take new ones;—we order you to appear at the firſt council in Rome."

It

It was alſo neceſſary to ſettle the affair of tythes, which the biſhops and abbots of Germany diſputed with one another.

Gregory VII. is the firſt who propoſes a cruſade. He writes on that ſubject to Henry IV. he pretends that he himſelf will go and deliver the holy ſepulchre at the head of fifty thouſand men, and deſires the emperor to come and ſerve under him. The then prevailing ſpirit diveſts this idea of the pope of the air of madneſs, and leaves nothing but that of greatneſs.

The deſign of commanding the emperor, and all the kings, ſeems no leſs chimerical, yet this is what he undertakes, and not without ſome ſucceſs.

Salomon, king of Hungary, driven from part of his dominions, and being maſter of no more than what lies between Preſburg and Auſtria, comes to Worms, and renews the homage of Hungary to the empire.

Gregory VII. writes to him, "You ought to know that the kingdom of Hungary belongs to the Roman church. Learn that you will incur the indignation of the holy ſee, if you do not acknowledge that you hold your dominions of it, and not of the king of Germany."

The pope exacts of the duke of Bohemia an hundred marks of ſilver, an annual tribute, and gives him, by way of recompence, the right of wearing the mitre.

Henry IV. always enjoyed the right of nominating biſhops and abbots, and of giving the inveſtiture by the croſs and the ring. This right he had in common with almoſt all princes. It naturally belongs to the people to chooſe their own pontiffs and magiſtrates; and it is but juſt that their choice ſhould concur with the royal authority; but this authority had uſurped the whole. The emperors filled vacant biſhoprics, and Henry IV. ſold them. Gregory, in oppoſing this abuſe, maintained the natural liberty of mankind; but in oppoſing the concurrence of the imperial authority, he introduced a ſtill greater abuſe. Then broke out the diviſions between the empire and the church. 1076.

The predeceſſors of Gregory VII. had ſent legates to the

the emperors, for no other purpoſe but to intreat their ſuccour, and deſire them to come and be crowned in Rome. Gregory ſends two legates to ſummon Henry to appear before him as a delinquent.

The legates, at their arrival at Goſlar, are abandoned to the inſults of the ſervants. By way of anſwer, a diet is held at Worms, at which almoſt all the noblemen, biſhops, and abbots of Germany are preſent.

There a cardinal, called Hugh, demands juſtice for all the crimes he imputes to the pope. Gregory is depoſed by a majority of voices; but there ought to have been an army to go and ſupport that judgment at Rome.

The pope, on his ſide, depoſes the emperor by a bull. "I forbid him, ſays he, to govern the Teutonic kingdom and Italy, and releaſe all his ſubjects from their oath of allegiance."

Gregory, more cunning than the emperor, well knew that theſe excommunications would be ſeconded by civil wars. He brings over the German biſhops to his party. Theſe biſhops engage the noblemen. They are joined by the Saxons, Henry's old enemies. The excommunication of Henry IV. ſerves them as a pretext.

That ſame Guelfe to whom the emperor had given Bavaria, arms himſelf againſt him by means of his own bounty, and ſupports the malecontents.

At length, the majority of the biſhops, and even of the princes who had depoſed Gregory VII. ſubject their emperor to the judgment of that pope. They deſire that the pope will come and judge the emperor definitively at Augſburg.

The emperor would fain prevent this fatal judgment
1077. of Augſbourg, and in conſequence of an unheard-of reſolution, goes, attended by a few domeſtics, to implore abſolution of the Pope.

The pope was then in the fortreſs of Canoſſa, upon the Appenine, with the counteſs Mathilda, the emperor's own couſin.

The counteſs Mathilda is the true cauſe of all the wars between the emperors and the popes, which have ſo

ſo long ravaged Italy. She poſſeſſed, in her own right, great part of Tuſcany, Mantua, Parma, Reggio, Placentia, Ferrara, Modena, Verona, and almoſt the whole of what is now called The Patrimony of St. Peter, from Viterbo to Orvietta, part of Ombria, Spoleto, and the march of Ancona. She was called The Great Counteſs, ſometimes Ducheſs. There was not then any form of titles uſed in Europe. People ſaid to kings, "Your excellency, your ſerenity, your grandeur, and your grace," indifferently. The title of Majeſty was rarely given to the emperors, and was rather an epithet than a name of honour attributed to the imperial dignity. There is ſtill extant the patent of a donation of Mathilda to the biſhop of Modena, which begins thus: "In preſence of Mathilda, by the grace of God, ducheſs and counteſs." Her mother, who was ſiſter of Henry III. and very ill treated by her brother, had brought up this powerful princeſs in an implacable hatred to the houſe of Henry. She was ſubmiſſive to the Pope, who was her director, and, as his enemies ſay, her galant. Her attachment to Gregory, and her hatred to the Germans, ſhe carried to ſuch a length as to make a donation of all her territories to the Pope.

It was in preſence of this counteſs Mathilda, that the emperor, in the month of January, 1077, barefoot and in hair-cloth proſtrated himſelf at the Pope's feet, ſwearing that he would be ſubmiſſive to him in all things, and go and wait his decree at Augſbourg.

All the noblemen of Lombardy now began to be more diſſatisfied with the Pope than the emperor. Mathilda's donation filled them with alarm: they promiſe to ſuccour Henry IV. if he will break the ſhameful treaty he has made. Then the world ſaw, what had never been ſeen before, a German emperor aſſiſted by Italy and abandoned by his own country.

The noblemen and biſhops aſſembled at Forcheim in Franconia, animated by the Pope's legates, depoſe the emperor, and reunite their ſuffrages in favour of Rodolphus of Rhinfeld, duke of Suabia.

Gregory then behaves like the ſupreme judge of kings:

kings: he has depoſed Henry IV. but ſtill it is in his power to pardon that monarch: he takes it amiſs that they did not wait for his preciſe order to conſecrate him, who was newly elected at Mentz: he declares from the fortreſs of Canoſſa, where he was blocked up by the noblemen of Lombardy, that he will acknowledge for emperor and king of Germany him of the competitors who ſhall obey him the moſt implicitly.

1078.

Henry IV. returns to Germany, reanimates his party, and levies an army. Almoſt all Germany is, by means of the two factions, involved in blood and flames.

All the biſhops are in arms in this war. A biſhop of Straſbourg, one of Henry's partiſans, goes and plunders all the convents which had declared for the Pope.

1079.

While they fight in Germany, Gregory VII. eſcapes from the Lombards, excommunicates Henry a-new, and by his bull of the 7th of March, "We give, ſays he, the Teutonic kingdom to Rodolphus, and we condemn Henry to be vanquiſhed."

1080.

He ſends to Rodolphus a crown of gold, with this wretched verſe ſo well known:

Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rodolpho.

Henry IV. on his ſide, aſſembles thirty biſhops, with ſome German and Lombard noblemen at Brixen, and depoſes the Pope for the ſecond time, as ineffectually as at firſt.

Bertrand count of Provence withdraws himſelf from his obedience to the emperors, and does homage to the Pope. The town of Arles continues faithful to Henry.

Gregory VII. fortifies himſelf with the protection of the Norman princes and gives them a new inveſtiture, on condition that they ſhall always defend the popes.

Gregory encourages Rodolphus and his party, and promiſes that Henry ſhall die within the year: but, in the famous battle of Merſbourg, Henry IV. aſſiſted by Godfrey of Bouillon, retorts the Pope's prediction upon his

his competitor Rodolphus, who is mortally wounded by Godfrey's own hand *.

Henry revenges himſelf upon Saxony, which then becomes the moſt miſerable of all countries. 1081.

Before his departure for Italy, he gives his daughter Agnes in marriage to Frederic baron of Stauffen, who, as well as Godfrey of Bouillon, had helped him to gain the deciſive battle of Merſbourg. The duchy of Suabia is her dower. This is the origin of the illuſtrious and unfortunate houſe of Suabia.

Henry, being conqueror, marches into Italy. The places belonging to the counteſs Mathilda make reſiſtance. He carries along with him a Pope of his own making, called Guibert: but this very circumſtance hinders him at firſt from being received in Rome.

The Saxons ſet up the ſhadow of an emperor, one count Herman, ſcarce known in the world. 1082.

Henry beſieges Rome. Gregory propoſes to him to come once more and demand abſolution, and promiſes to crown him on theſe terms. 1083. Henry, inſtead of anſwering, takes the city, and the Pope ſhuts himſelf up in the caſtle of St. Angelo.

Robert Guiſchard comes to his aſſiſtance, although he had, ſome years before, had his ſhare of the excommunications which Gregory ſo liberally beſtowed. A negotiation is ſet on foot, and the pope promiſes to crown Henry.

Gregory propoſes to keep his promiſe by lowering down the crown with a rope, from the walls of the caſtle of St. Angelo, upon the emperor's head.

Henry is not ſatisfied with the pleaſant ceremony: he exalts his antipope Guibert, and is ſolemnly crowned by his hands. 1084.

Mean

* Rodolphus perceiving his end approaching, cauſed his hand which was cut off to be brought to him; and addreſſing himſelf to the officers that were preſent, "Behold, ſaid he, the hand with which I took the oath of allegiance to Henry, which I have violated at the inſtigation of Rome, in perfidiouſly aſpiring to an honour which was not my due."

Mean while Robert Guiſchard, having received a reinforcement of troops, compels the emperor to retire *, releaſes the Pope from the caſtle of St. Angelo, becomes at once his protector and maſter, and carries him to Salerno, where Gregory continues till his death the priſoner of his deliverers; but ſtill talking as the maſter of kings, and martyr of the church.

The emperor returns to Rome, where he cauſes himſelf and his Pope to be acknowledged, and retreats with great haſte to Germany, like all his predeceſſors, who ſeem to have come and taken Rome merely by way of ceremony. He is recalled by the diviſions of Germany; and there is a neceſſity for cruſhing the anti-emperor, and taming the Saxons: but he never could raiſe great armies; conſequently his ſucceſs could never be complete.

1085.

He ſubdues Thuringia; but Bavaria, debauched by the ingratitude of Guelfe, and half Suabia, which would not acknowledge his ſon-in-law, declare againſt him; and a civil war rages through all Germany.

1086.

Gregory VII. being dead, Didier, abbot of Monte Caſſini, is Pope, under the name of Victor III. The counteſs Mathilda, ſtill faithful to her hatred of Henry IV. furniſhes this Victor with troops to expel the emperor's garriſon and his pope Guibert from Rome. Victor dies, and Rome continues ſubject to the imperial authority.

1087.

The anti-emperor Hernan, having now neither money nor troops, comes and throwns himſelf on his knees before Henry IV. and dies at laſt in oblivion.

1088.

Henry IV. marries a Ruſſian princeſs, widow of a marquis of Brandenburg, of the houſe of Staden. This was by no means a political match.

1089.

He

* While Henry repaired upon ſome very urgent affairs to Lombardy, Guiſchard came to Rome, and delivered Gregory.

He gives the marquiſate of Miſnia to the count of Lanſberg, one of the moſt antient Saxon noblemen: from this marquis of Miſnia is the whole houſe of Saxony deſcended.

Having pacified Germany, he repairs again to Italy. The greateſt obſtacle he there finds is ſtill that counteſs Mathilda, lately remarried to young Guelfe, ſon of that ungrateful Guelfe to whom Henry IV. had given Bavaria.

The counteſs maintains the war in her dominions againſt the emperor, who returns to Germany, without having done any thing to purpoſe.

This Guelfe, Mathilda's huſband, is ſaid to have been the firſt origin of the faction of the Guelfs; by which name the party of the popes in Italy was afterwards called. The word Gibelin was long after applied to the faction of the emperors, becauſe Henry ſon of Conrad III. was born at Ghibeling. This derivation of theſe two words of war, is as probable and as uncertain as the others.

The new pope Urban II. author of the cruſades, purſues Henry IV. with no leſs rancour than that of Gregory VII. 1090.

The biſhops of Conſtance and Paſſau excite an inſurrection of the people. His new wife Adelaide of Ruſſia, and his ſon Conrad, born of Bertha, revolt againſt him. Never was emperor, huſband, or father, more unfortunate than Henry IV.

The empreſs Adelaide and her ſon-in-law Conrad paſs into Italy. The counteſs Mathilda furniſhes them with troops and money. 1091.

Roger duke of Calabria gives his daughter in marriage to Conrad.

Pope Urban, having made this powerful league, does not fail to excommunicate the emperor.

The emperor, when he laſt departed from Italy, had left a garriſon in Rome: he was ſtill maſter of the palace of the Lateran, which was pretty ſtrong, and in which his pope Guibert had taken refuge. 1092.

The commandant of the garriſon ſells both garriſon and palace to the Pope. Jeffrey, abbot of Vendome, who was then at Rome, lends Urban money to make this bargain, and Urban reimburſes him with the title of Cardinal, which he ſettles upon him and his ſucceſſors. Pope Guibert betakes himſelf to flight.

During theſe years, the minds of men in Europe are engroſſed by the idea of Cruſades which the famous Peter the hermit preached up every where, with an enthuſiaſm which ſpread like contagion from town to town.

1093, 1094, 1095.

A great council, or rather a prodigious aſſembly is held at Placentia in 1095. There were above forty thouſand men, and the council was held in the open field. There the pope propoſes the cruſade.

There the empreſs Adelaide and the counteſs Mathilda ſolemny demanded juſtice of the emperor Henry IV.

Conrad comes and kiſſes the feet of Urban II. takes the oath of fidelity to him, and leads his horſe by the bridle. Urban promiſes to crown him emperor on condition that he will renounce the right of inveſtiture. He afterwards kiſſes him on the face, and dines with him in Cremona.

The cruſade having been preached in France with more ſucceſs than at Placentia, Walter Lack-Means, Peter the hermit, and a German monk called Godeſcald, take their march through Germany, at the head of an army of vagabonds.

1096.

As theſe vagabonds wore the croſs and had no money, and the Jews who carried on all the trade of Germany had a great deal, the Cruſards began their expeditions with them at Worms, Cologn, Mentz, Triers, and ſeveral other cities. They are maſſacred and burnt. Almoſt the whole city of Mentz is reduced to aſhes by theſe diſorders.

1097.

The emperor Henry repreſſes theſe exceſſes as much as he can, and leaves the Cruſards to take their route through Hungary, where they are almoſt all murdered.

Young

Young Guelfe quarrels with his wife Mathilda. There is a ſeparation between them, and this quarrel contributes a little to the the re-eſtabliſhment of the emperor's affairs.

Henry holds a diet at Aix-la-chappelle, where he cauſes his ſon Conrad to be declared unworthy to reign. 1098.

He cauſes his ſecond ſon Henry to be elected and crowned, never dreaming that he would have greater cauſe of complaint againſt the younger than againſt the elder. 1099.

The emperor's authority is abſolutely deſtroyed in Italy, but re-eſtabliſhed in Germany. 1100.

The rebellious Conrad dies ſuddenly at Florence. Pope Paſchal II. to whom the emperor's impotent lieutenants in Italy had in vain 1101. oppoſed Antipopes, excommunicates Henry IV. after the example of his predeceſſors.

The counteſs Mathilda having quarrelled with her huſband, renews her donation to the Roman Church. 1102.

Bruno archbiſhop of Triers, primate to the Gauls of Germany, having been inveſted by the emperor, goes to Rome, where he is obliged to aſk pardon for having received the inveſtiture.

Henry IV. promiſes to go to the Holy-land. This was the only way at that time of conciliating the affections of his ſubjects. 1104.

But at the ſame time, the archbiſhop of Mentz and the biſhop of Conſtance, the pope's legates, perceiving the emperor's cruſade was 1105. no more than a feint to excite his ſon Henry againſt him, they releaſe him from the excommunication which (ſay they) he has incurred 'By being faithful to his father.' The pope encourages him; and ſeveral Saxon and Bavarian noblemen are gained over.

The partizans of young Henry aſſemble a council and an army: and in this council wiſe laws are made. There they confirm what is called God's Truce: a monument of the horrible barbarity which prevailed in thoſe

times. This truce was an edict forbidding the noblemen and barons who were at open war, to ſlay one another on Sundays and holidays.

Young Henry proteſts in the council, that he is ready to ſubmit to his father, if his father will ſubmit to the pope. The whole council cried *Kyrie eleyſon* *, which was the prayer uſed in armies and councils.

Mean while this rebellious ſon engages the marquis of Auſtria in his party, together with the duke of Bohemia. The dukes of Bohemia ſometimes took the title of king, ſince the pope had given them the mitre.

His party grows ſtronger and ſtronger. The emperor in vain writes to pope Paſchal, who will not liſten to his propoſals. A diet is ſummoned at Mentz in order appeaſe ſo many troubles.

Young Henry feigns a reconciliation with his father, aſks pardon of him with tears in his eyes, and having allured him into the caſtle of Bingenheim in the neighbourhood of Mentz, cauſes him to be apprehended and detained in priſon.

The diet of Mentz declares for this perfidious ſon
1106. againſt the unfortunate father. The emperor receives an intimation that he muſt ſend the imperial ornaments to young Henry. They are taken from him by force and carried to Mentz, where the unnatural uſurper is crowned. But he proteſts with a ſigh, it is againſt his own inclination, and that he will reſtore the crown to his father, as ſoon as Henry IV. ſhall be obedient to the pope.

We find in the conſtitutions of Goldaſt a letter from the emperor to his ſon, in which he conjures him to allow the biſhop of Liege to grant him an aſylum at leaſt. "Allow me," ſays he, "to continue at Liege, if not as emperor, at leaſt as refugee. Let it not be ſaid to my ſhame, or rather to yours, that I am forced to beg lodgings in Eaſter-time. If you grant me what I aſk, I ſhall be greatly obliged to you: if you refuſe me, I will go and rather live as a poor cottager in a foreign country, than wander thus from one diſgrace

* Two Greek words ſignifying, *Lord have mercy.*

grace to another in an empire which was once my own."

What a letter is this from an emperor to his ſon! The hypocriſy and inflexible cruelty of this young prince reſtored ſome partizans to Henry IV. The new elected emperor in attempting to violate his father's aſylum at Liege, was repulſed. He went to exact the oath of allegiance in Alſace; and all the homage the Alſatians did was to beat the troops by which he was accompanied, ſo that he was compelled to betake himſelf to flight. But this ſlight check ſerved only to incenſe him, and aggravate the miſeries of his father.

The emperor was protected by the biſhop of Liege, the dukes of Limburg and Low-Lorrain. The count of Hainault was againſt him. Pope Paſchal wrote to to the count of Hainault, "Perſecute without ceaſing Henry chief of the heretics, and his ſautors: you cannot offer more agreeable ſacrifices to God."

Henry IV. at length being almoſt quite deſtitute of relief, and on the brink of being forced in Liege, writes to the abbot of Clugni, and ſeems to have meditated a retreat in that convent. He dies at Liege, Auguſt 7. overwhelmed with grief, and crying aloud "O God of vengence! thou wilt revenge this parricide." It was an opinion equally ancient and vain, that God fulfilled the curſes of dying men, eſpecially thoſe of parents: an error which would be very uſeful if it could terrify thoſe who deſerve ſuch curſes.

The unnatural ſon of Henry IV. comes to Liege, orders his father's body to be dug up from the church, as the carcaſs of an excommunicated wretch, and to be put in a vault at Spire.

HENRY V.

Nineteenth Emperor.

THE lords of the great fiefs then began to fortify themſelves in the right of ſovereignty. They aſſumed the name of *Coimperantes*, looking upon themſelves as ſovereigns in their fiefs and vaſſals of the empire, not of the emperor. They indeed received of him the vacant fiefs; but the ſame authority that beſtowed them could not take them away. Thus in Poland the king confers the palatinates; but the republic alone has the right of deſtitution. In effect one may receive through favour, but he ought not to be diſpoſſeſſed but by juſtice. Several vaſſals of the empire had already intitled themſelves dukes and counts "By the grace of God."

This independence which the noblemen confirmed to themſelves, and which the emperors endeavoured to reduce, contributed at leaſt as much as the popes, to the troubles of the empire, and the rebellion of children againſt their own fathers.

The power of the grandees derived growth from the impotence of the throne. This feudal government was nearly the ſame in France and Arragon. There was no longer any kingdom in Italy. All the noblemen there fortified themſelves ſeparately. Europe was wholly roughened with caſtles and covered with banditti. Barbarity and ignorance prevailed. The inhabitants of the country were ſlaves, the burghers of the town were diſpiſed and racked with impoſitions, and, ſome trading towns in Italy excepted, Europe from one end to the other was nothing but a theatre of miſery.

The firſt thing done by Henry V. after his coronation, was to maintain the ſame right of inveſtiture againſt which he had taken arms to dethrone his father.

Pope

Pope Paſchal being come to France goes as far as Chaalons in Champagne, to confer with the German princes and biſhops who come thither in the emperor's name.

That numerous embaſſy at firſt refuſes to make the firſt viſit to the pope. At length, however, they go to his lodgings. Bruno archbiſhop of Triers ſupports the right of the emperor. It would have been much more natural for an archbiſhop to exclaim againſt thoſe inveſtitures and homages of which the biſhops made ſuch loud complaints; but private intereſt always overbalances that of the public.

Theſe four years are almoſt wholly employed in wars againſt Hungary and part of Poland; wars without cauſe, and without any great ſucceſs on either ſide, which ended in the wearineſs of parties, and left things exactly as they were. 1107, 1108, 1109, 1110.

The emperor at the end of this war marries the daughter of Henry I. king of England, ſecond ſon and ſucceſſor of William the conqueror. It is pretended that his wife had for dower, a ſum amounting to about nine hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. This was equal to above five millions of German crowns, as they are now valued, or to twenty millions of France. All the hiſtorians fail in point of exactneſs in recording ſuch facts, and the hiſtory of thoſe times is too often a heap of exaggerations. 1111.

At length the emperor turns his thoughts upon Italy and the imperial crown; and pope Paſchal II. in order to diſturb him, renews the quarrel of the inveſtitures.

Henry V. ſends ambaſſadors to Rome, followed by an army. In the mean time he promiſes by a writing ſtill preſerved in the Vatican to renounce the inveſtitures, and to leave the popes in poſſeſſion of all they had received from the emperors; and what is ſtrange enough, after theſe ſubmiſſions he promiſes not to kill or mutilate the ſovereign pontiff.

Paſchal II. by the ſame act promiſes to order the biſhops to abandon to the emperor all their fiefs hold-

ing of the empire; by this agreement the biſhops loſt a great deal; but the pope and emperor were conſiderable gainers.

All the biſhops of Italy and Germany, who were at Rome, proteſting againſt this agreement, Henry V. in order to appeaſe them, propoſes that they ſhall farm the lands of which they were formerly in poſſeſſion. But the biſhops will by no means conſent to be farmers.

Henry V. wearied with all theſe conteſts, declares he will be crowned and conſecrated without any condition at all. This whole diſpute paſſed in the church of St. Peter during maſs, which being ended the emperor ordered his guards to take the pope into cuſtody.

There is an inſurrection in Rome in favour of the pope. The emperor is obliged to make his eſcape; but returns immediately with troops; fights a bloody battle in Rome, kills abundance of Romans, and eſpecially prieſts, and carries off the pope priſoner with ſome cardinals.

Paſchal was more complaiſant in priſon than at the altar; he does every thing that the emperor deſires. At the end of two months Henry V. reconducts the holy father to Rome at the head of his troops. The pope crowns him emperor April 13th, and at the ſame time gives him the bull by which he is confirmed in the right of the inveſtitures. It is remarkable that in this bull he gives him no other title but that of *dilection*. But it is ſtill more ſo, that the emperor and pope ſhould communicate of the ſame hoſt, and that the pope ſhould ſay, when he gave the half of the poſt to the emperor, "As this part of the ſacrament is divided from the other, ſo may the firſt of us two, who ſhall break the peace, be ſeparated from the kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt."

Henry V. finiſhes the farce by aſking the Pope's permiſſion to bury his father in conſecrated ground, aſſuring him he died penitent: then he returns to Germany to perform the obſequies of Henry IV. without having eſtabliſhed his power in Italy.

Paſchal

Paſchal II. is not diſpleaſed to find his cardinals and legates in all kingdoms diſavowing his condeſcenſion for Henry V. 1112.

He aſſembles a council in the baſilic of St. John of Lateran, where, in preſence of three hundred prelates, he aſks pardon for his weakneſs, offers to reſign the pontificate, cancels and annuls all he had done, and debaſes himſelf in order to exalt the church.

Perhaps Paſchal II. and his council would not have taken this ſtep, if they had not depended upon one of thoſe revolutions, which have always followed the conſecration of the emperors. In effect, there were troubles in Germany about the imperial treaſury; another ſource of civil wars. 1113.

Lotharius duke of Saxony, afterwards emperor, is at the head of the faction againſt Henry V. That emperor having occaſion, like his father, to fight the Saxons, is like him defended by the houſe Suabia. Frederic de Stauffen, duke of Suabia and father of the emperor Barbaroſſa, prevents Henry V. from ſinking in theſe troubles. 1114.

The moſt dangerous enemies of Henry V. are three prieſts; the Pope in Italy, the archbiſhop of Mentz, who ſometimes defeats his troops, and Erlang biſhop of Wirtzbourg, who, being ſent by him to the confederates, betrays his maſter, and eſpouſes their cauſe. 1115.

Henry V. being conqueror, puts Erlang biſhop of Wirtzbourg to the ban of the empire. The biſhops of Wirtzbourg pretended they were direct lords of all Franconia, although they were dukes of that country, and the duchy itſelf belonged to the imperial houſe. 1116.

The duchy of Franconia is given to Conrad nephew of Henry V. At preſent there are no dukes, either of this great province, or of Suabia.

Biſhop Erlang defends himſelf for a long time in Wirtzbourg, diſputes the ramparts ſword in hand, and makes his eſcape when the town is taken.

The famous counteſs Mathilda dies, after having

ing renewed the donation of all her eſtate to the Roman church.

The emperor Henry V. diſinherited by his couſin, and excommunicated by the Pope, goes to
1117. Italy to take poſſeſſion of Mathilda's lands, and be revenged upon his Holineſs: he enters Rome, and the Pope flies for ſhelter among the Norman princes, the new vaſſals and protectors of the church.

The firſt coronation of the emperor appearing equivocal, a ſecond is performed, which is ſtill more ſo. An archbiſhop of Braga in Portugal, a Limouſin by birth, called Bourdin, takes it in his head to conſecrate the emperor.

After the ceremony Henry goes to ſecure Tuſcany. Paſchal II. returns to Rome with a ſmall ar-
1118. my belonging to the Norman princes: he dies, and the army goes home again, after having taken care to ſee itſelf well paid.

The cardinals of themſelves elect Caïetan, Gelaſus II. Cincio conſul of Rome, marquis of Frangipani, devoted to the emperor, enters the conclave ſword in hand, ſeizes the Pope by the throat, knocks him down, and takes him priſoner. This brutal ferocity throws Rome into combuſtion. Henry V. goes thither; Gelaſus retires to France, and the emperor gives the pontificate to his Limouſin Bourdin.

Gelaſus being dead at the council of Vienne in Dau-
1119. phiny, the cardinals who were at that council, conjunctly with the Roman Biſhops, and even the laity, who were preſent, elect Guy of Burgundy, archbiſhop of Vienne, ſon of a duke of Burgundy, and of the blood royal of France. This is not the firſt prince elected Pope. He takes the name of Calixtus II.

Lewis the Groſs, king of France, takes upon himſelf the office of mediator in that grand affair of the inveſtitures between the empire and the church. A council is aſſembled at Rheims. The archbiſhop of Mentz arrives at that city with five hundred men at arms on horſeback, and the count de Troye goes to receive him with

with the like number at the diſtance of half a league from town.

The emperor and Pope repair to Mouzon: they are on the very brink of accommodation, when a diſpute upon words ſets them more than ever at variance. The emperor quits Mouzon, and is excommunicated by the council.

As there were in this council ſeveral German biſhops who had excommunicated the emperor, the other biſhops of Germany will no longer allow the emperor to beſtow the inveſtitures. 1120, 1121.

At length, in a diet at Worms, the peace of the empire and of the church is eſtabliſhed. It is found that this long quarrel was founded on a miſunderſtanding. The queſtion was not to know if the emperors conferred the biſhopric, but if they could inveſt with the imperial fiefs thoſe biſhops who were cononically elected at their recommendation. It was decided, that the inveſtitures for the future ſhould be conferred, not by the crook, but by the ſceptre and ring: but, what is much more important, the emperor, in expreſs terms, renounces the right of nominating to benefices thoſe whom he was bound to inveſt. *Ego Henricus, Dei gratia, Romanorum imperator concedo in omnibus eccleſiis fieri electionem & liberam conſecrationem.* This was an irreparable breach in the imperial authority. 1122.

Domeſtic troubles in Bohemia, Hungary, Alſace, and Holland. At this miſerable period there was nothing but diſcord in the church, civil wars among the great, and ſlavery among the common people. 1123.

This is the firſt time that the affairs of England were intermingled with thoſe of the empire. Henry I. king of England, and brother of the duke of Normandy, is already involved in wars with France on account of that duchy. 1124.

The emperor levies troops and advances towards the Rhine. We likewiſe ſee that even then all the German noblemen did not not ſecond the emperor in ſuch quarrels: ſeveral noblemen refuſe to aſſiſt him againſt a power,

power, which, by its ſituation, ought to be naturally the protector of the German lords of the great fiefs againſt the ſovereign paramount, juſt as the kings of England afterwards joined the great vaſſals of France.

The miſeries of Europe were crowned with a peſtilential diſeaſe, which attacks Henry V. who
1125. dies at Utrecht May 22, with the reputation of an unnatural ſon, a hypocrite in religion, a turbulent neighbour, and a bad maſter.

LOTHARIUS II.

Twentieth Emperor.

THIS is a very ſingular æra. France, for the firſt time ſince the decay of Charlemagne's family, intermeddles in the election of an emperor
1125, in Germany. The famous monk Suger ab-
1126, bot of St. Dennis, and miniſter of ſtate to
1127. Lewis the Groſs, goes to the diet of Mentz with the retinue of a ſovereign, to oppoſe at leaſt the election of Frederic duke of Suabia. He ſucceeds, either by intrigue or good fortune. The diet, being divided, chooſes ten electors. Theſe ten princes are not named. They elect Lotharius duke of Saxony, and the lords then preſent elevate him upon their ſhoulders.

Conrad duke of Franconia, of the houſe of Stauffen-Suabia, and Frederic duke of Suabia, proteſt againſt this election. The abbot Suger was the firſt of the miniſters of France who excited civil wars in Germany. Conrad cauſes himſelf to be proclaimed king at Spire; but, inſtead of ſupporting his faction, he goes to make himſelf king of Lombardy at Milan: his towns in Germany are taken from him, but he acquires others in Lombardy.

Seven

Seven or eight wars rage at one time in Denmark, Holſtein, Germany, and Flanders. 1128, 1129.

At Rome the people ſtill pretended to elect popes in ſpite of the cardinals, who had reſerved that right to themſelves; and perſiſted in refuſing to acknowledge the perſon elected as their ſovereign, though they conſented to own him as their biſhop. Rome was totally divided into two factions; one elects Innocent II. the other chooſes the ſon or grandſon of a Jew called Leo, who takes the name of Anacletus. The Jew's ſon, as being richeſt, drives his competitor from Rome. Innocent II. takes refuge in France, which is now become the aſylum of oppreſſed popes. This Pope goes to Liege; engages Lotharius II. in his intereſt; crowns him emperor, together with his wife; and excommunicates his competitors. 1130.

Conrad of Franconia the anti-emperor, and Anacletus the anti-pope, have a great faction in Italy. The emperor Lotharius and pope Innocent go to Rome. The two popes ſubmit to the deciſion of Lotharius who decides in favour of Innocent: the anti-pope retires to the caſtle of St. Angelo, which is ſtill in his poſſeſſion. Lotharius cauſes himſelf to be conſecrated by Innocent II. according to the then eſtabliſhed cuſtoms. One of theſe was, that the emperor ſhould firſt take an oath to preſerve the Pope's life and limbs. But he made the ſame promiſe to the emperor. 1131, 1132, 1133.

The Pope cedes the profits of the lands of the counteſs Mathilda to Lotharius and his ſon-in-law, the duke of Bavaria, for their lives only, in conſideration of an annual ſervice to the holy ſee.

This was ſowing wars for their ſucceſſors.

To facilitate the donation of theſe profits, Lotharius II. kiſſed the Pope's feet, and led his mule ſome paces. Lotharius is ſuppoſed to be the firſt emperor who performed that double ceremony.

The two rivals of Lotharius, Conrad of Franconia, and Frederic of Suabia, being abandoned by their parties, reconcile themſelves to the emperor, whom they acknowledge. 1134, 1135.

A celebrated

A celebrated diet is held at Madgeburg. The Greek emperor and the Venetians ſend thither ambaſſadors to demand juſtice againſt Roger king of Sicily; and there the ambaſſadors of the duke of Poland take the oath of fidelity to the empire, in all probability to preſerve Pomerania, of which they had made themſelves maſters.

Order and police are re-eſtabliſhed in Germany.
1136. Inheritance and cuſtoms of fiefs and under-fiefs are ſettled. Magiſtracy, burgo-maſters, mayors and provoſts, are ſubjected to the feudal lords. Privileges of churches, biſhoprics and abbeys, are confirmed.

The emperor's journey to Italy. Roger duke of
1137. Apulia and new king of Sicily, eſpouſed the party of the anti-pope Anacletus, and threatened Rome. War is made upon Roger.

The city of Piſa was then very conſiderable in Europe, even above Venice and Genoa. Theſe three trading towns furniſhed almoſt the whole Weſt with all the delicacies of Aſia. They had erected themſelves quietly by liberty and commerce, while the deſolation of the feudal government filled almoſt every other place with miſery and ſervitude. The Piſans of themſelves equipped a fleet of forty gallies to aſſiſt the emperor, and without theſe he could not have ſtood his ground. It is reported that the firſt copy of the digeſta was then found in Apulia, and preſented to the city of Piſa by the emperor.

Lotharius II. dies near Trent, in paſſing the Alps of the Tirol.

CONRAD III.

Twenty-first Emperor.

HENRY, duke of Bavaria, ſurnamed the Proud, who poſſeſſed Saxony, Miſnia, Thuringia, Ve-
1138. rona, Spoleto, and almoſt the whole eſtate of Mathilda, ſeized the imperial ornaments, and imagined

imagined his great power would raiſe him to the imperial throne; but this was the very circumſtance that prevented his ſucceſs.

All the noblemen unite in favour of Conrad, the ſame who had diſputed the empire with Lotharius II. Henry of Bavaria, who ſeemed ſo powerful, is the third of that name who is put to the ban of the empire. He muſt have been ſtill more imprudent than proud, ſeeing he could ſcarce defend himſelf, notwithſtanding his great power.

As the name of that prince's family was Guelph, thoſe who eſpouſed his party were called *Guelphs*, and this name was afterwards uſually given to the enemies of the emperors.

Saxony, which belonged to the Guelphs, is given to Albert of Anhalt, ſurnamed the Bear, marquis of Brandenbourg; and Bavaria is given 1139. to the marquis of Auſtria. But Albert the Bear, finding himſelf unable to take poſſeſſion of Saxony, this affair is accommodated. Saxony remains with the houſe of the Guelphs, and Bavaria continues with the houſe of Auſtria; but that whole diſpoſition hath ſince been changed.

Henry the Proud dies, leaving Henry the Lion in the cradle. His brother Guelph ſupports the war, towards the maintenance of which 1140. Roger king of Sicily gives him a thouſand marks of ſilver. We ſee that the Norman princes are no ſooner become powerful in Italy, than they endeavour by all poſſible means to block up the emperor's road to Rome. Frederic Barbaroſſa, Conrad's nephew, ſo famous in the ſequel, already ſignalizes himſelf in this war.

No period ever appeared more favourable for the emperors, to come and eſtabliſh at Rome that power which was always the object of their ambition, and always conteſted. From 1140 to 1146.

Arnold of Breſcia, a diſciple of Abelard, a man of an enthuſiaſtic diſpoſition, preached thro' all Italy againſt the temporal power of the popes and the clergy, and perſuaded all thoſe whoſe intereſt it was to be perſuaded, eſpecially the Romans.

In

In 1144, under the ſhort pontificate of Lucius II. the Romans make another attempt to re-eſtabliſh the antient republic; they augment the ſenate, elect as patrician a ſon of the anti-pope Peter of Lyons, called Jordani, and confer upon him the tribunitial power. Pope Lucius marches againſt them, and is killed at the foot of the capitol.

Mean while, Conrad III. neglects going to Italy, either being detained by a war which the Hungarians carried on againſt the marquis of Auſtria, or becauſe the epidemical paſſion for the cruſades had already taken poſſeſſion of his mind.

St. Bernard abbot of Clervaux, having preached the
1146. cruſade in France, goes and preaches it again in Germany; but in what language did he preach it then? he did not underſtand the Teutonic, and he could not ſpeak Latin to the people. He worked abundance of miracles. Perhaps he did: but he did not add the gift of prophecy to theſe miracles; for he promiſed in the name of God that the enterprize would be crowned with the greateſt ſucceſs.

The emperor takes the croſs at Spire, together with a good number of noblemen.

Conrad III. makes preparations for the cruſade, in
1147. the diet of Frankfort. Before his departure he cauſes his ſon Henry to be crowned king of the Romans. The imperial council of Rotwell * is eſtabliſhed to try cauſes in the laſt appeal: this council was compoſed of twelve barons. The precedency

* This council, which is ſtill in force at Rotwell, an imperial town in Suabia, though deprived of its former authority, is compoſed of twelve gentlemen; or, in default of gentlemen, the members are choſen from among the citizens of Rotwell, and the preſident is the count de Schultz, to whoſe family that honour belongs in fief. Its juriſdiction extends over the provinces of Suabia, Franconia, Auſtria, and the Rhine. Nevertheleſs, the archbiſhops of Triers and Cologn, the archdukes of Auſtria, the knights of the Teutonic order, and of the order of Malta, the ſubjects of the duke of Deux-Ponts, and of the duke of Wirtemburg, the abbot of St. Blaire, the counts of Hanau, and ſome others, have a right to decline pleading before this tribunal. MOD. UNIV. HIST.

dency was given as a fief to the houſe of Schults, that is, on condition of fealty, homage and acknowledgment. Theſe kind of fiefs begin to be introduced.

The emperor embarks upon the Danube, with the celebrated biſhop of Friſingen, who has written the hiſtory of this period, together with thoſe of Ratiſbon, Paſſau, Baſil, Metz, and Toul. Frederic Barbaroſſa, the marquis of Auſtria, Henry duke of Bavaria, and the marquis of Montferrat, are the chief of thoſe princes by whom he was accompanied.

The Germans were the laſt who came to theſe expeditions which were at firſt ſo ſplendid, and ſoon after ſo unfortunate. The little kingdom of Jeruſalem was already erected; the ſtates of Antioch, Edeſſa, and Tripoli in Syria, were formed. The counts of Joppa, and the marquiſſes of Galilee and Sidon were created; but the greateſt part of theſe conqueſts was loſt.

Intemperance deſtroys part of the German army. Hence aroſe the report that the Greek emperor had poiſoned the fountains, in order to deſtroy the cruſards. 1148.

Conrad and Lewis the Young, king of France, join their weakened armies near Laodicea. After ſome battles againſt the Muſſulmans, he goes in pilgrimage to Jeruſalem, inſtead of making himſelf maſter of Damaſcus, which he afterwards beſieges in vain *. He returns almoſt without any army, in veſſels belonging to his brother-in-law Manuel Comnenus, and goes aſhore in the gulph of Venice, not daring to go to Italy, much leſs to preſent himſelf at Rome for his coronation.

The loſs of thoſe prodigious armies of cruſards, in the country where Alexander had with forty thouſand men ſubdued an empire much more powerful than that of the Arabians and Turks, proves to demonſtration, that in theſe enterprizes of the 1148, 1149.

* The beſieged made a furious ſally, and were bravely oppoſed by the emperor in perſon, who with one ſtroke cleft a Turk through the middle, to the aſtoniſhment and terror of the enemy, who at ſight of this exploit fled with great precipitation.

the Chriſtians there was ſome radical vice by which they were neceſſarily ruined; this was the feudal government, the independence of the chiefs, attended of courſe by diſunion, diſorder and indiſcretion.

The only reaſonable cruſade of thoſe times was that of ſome Flemiſh and Engliſh noblemen, but chiefly conſiſting of a number of Germans, from the banks of the Rhine, the Main and the Weſer, who embarked for the relief of Spain, ſtill uſurped by the Moors. This was a real danger, which called aloud for aſſiſtance; and it was certainly more reaſonable to aſſiſt Spain againſt uſurpers, than to go to Jeruſalem, to which they had no pretenſion, and where there was nothing to be got. The cruſards took Liſbon, and gave it to king Alphonſus.

There was another cruſade raiſed againſt the Pagans of the North; for the ſpirit of the Chriſtians of thoſe times, was to go and fight thoſe who were not of their religion. The biſhops of Madgebourg, Halberſtadt, Munſter, Merſburg and Brandenbourg, together with ſeveral abbots, excited this cruſade. They march with an army of ſixty thouſand men to convert the *Slaves*, who inhabited Pomerania, Pruſſia, and the coaſts of the Baltic. This cruſade was ſet on foot without conſulting the emperor, and even turns againſt him.

Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, whom Conrad had diveſted of Bavaria, was at the head of the cruſade againſt the Pagans, whom, however, he ſoon left in tranquillity, to go and attack the Chriſtians, and retake Bavaria.

All the fruit then that the emperor reaped from his travels to Paleſtine, was a civil war, which
1150. at his return he found in Germany under the name of The holy war. He finds it very difficult, with the aſſiſtance of the Bavarians and the reſt of Germany, to reſtrain Henry the Lion and the Guelphs.

Conrad III. dies at Bamberg, February 15, without having been able to receive the crown in
1151. Italy, or leave the kingdom of Germany to his ſon.

FREDERIC

FREDERIC I.

Surnamed BARBAROSSA.

TWENTY-SECOND EMPEROR.

FREDERIC I. is elected at Frankfort by the unanimous conſent of all the princes. 1152.
His ſecretary Amandus, in his annals, extracts of which are ſtill preſerved, reports that on this occaſion ſeveral noblemen of Lombardy gave their votes in theſe terms: "O you officiates, *(officiati)* if you conſent, Frederic ſhall have the force of his empire."

Thoſe *officiates* were then ſix in number; the archbiſhops of Mentz, Triers, and Cologn, were the three chancellors. There was the great maſter of the horſe, the great ſteward, the great chamberlain; and ſince that time they have added the great cup-bearer. It plainly appears that thoſe *officiati* were the firſt who acknowledged the elected emperor, who ſignified the election to the people, and took charge of the ceremonial.

The Italian noblemen were preſent at this election of Frederic. Nothing is more natural. At Frankfort they thought the Roman empire was given, when they gave the crown of Germany; although the king was not called emperor, till after he was crowned at Rome. Barbaroſſa's predeceſſor had poſſeſſed no authority either in Rome or in Italy; and it was for the intereſt of the perſon elected, that the great vaſſals of the Roman empire ſhould add their ſuffrages to the votes of the Germans.

The archbiſhop of Cologne crowns him at Aix-la-chapelle; and all the biſhops give him to underſtand, that he does not poſſeſs the empire by right of inheritance. This advertiſement was ſuperfluous; the ſon of the laſt emperor, whom they abandoned, was a ſufficient proof that the empire was not hereditary.

His

His reign begins with an action of great impoſition. Two competitors, Sueno and Canute, had long diſputed the kingdom of Denmark; Frederic makes himſelf umpire, and compels Canute to relinquiſh his right. Sueno does homage to the empire for Denmark in the city of Merſburg. He takes the oath of allegiance, and is inveſted by the ſword. Thus, in the midſt of ſo many troubles, we ſee the kings of Poland, Hungary, and Denmark, at the feet of the imperial throne.

The marquiſate of Auſtria is erected into a duchy,
1153. in favour of Henry Jaſamergot, who is ſcarce known, and whoſe poſterity is extinct in about one century after this period.

Henry the Lion, that duke of Saxony of the houſe of Guelph, obtains the inveſtiture of Bavaria, which he had almoſt wholly reconquered, and becomes as zealous a partizan of Frederic Barbaroſſa, as he had been an inveterate enemy to Conrad III.

Pope Eugenius III. ſends two legates to proſecute the archbiſhop of Mentz, who is accuſed of having diſſipated the revenue of his church, and the emperor permits the proceſs.

In return for which condeſcenſion, Frederic Barba-
roſſa repudiates his wife Mary of Vocburg or
1154. Vohenburg, without incurring the diſpleaſure of pope Adrian IV. who then filled the chair at Rome.

Frederic reſumes the deſigns of his predeceſſor upon
Italy. He reduces ſeveral towns of Lom-
1155. bardy, which wanted to become republics; but Milan reſiſts all his power.

He, in the name of his ward, Henry, ſon of Conrad III. ſeizes the lands of the counteſs Mathilda, is crowned at Pavia, and ſends deputies to deſire Adrian IV. to crown him in Rome.

This pope is a great example of what may be done by perſonal merit and good fortune; born an Engliſhman, ſon of a mendicant, a long time a mendicant himſelf, ſtrolling from country to country, before he could be received as a ſervant among the monks in Dauphiny, at length raiſed to the pinnacle of greatneſs, he had ſo much the more elevation of ſpirit, as he had raiſed

raiſed himſelf from the moſt abject condition. He was inclined to crown a vaſſal, but afraid of giving himſelf a maſter. The preceding troubles had introduced a cuſtom, that when the emperor come to be conſecrated, the pope and people fortified themſelves, and the emperor began by ſwearing that his holineſs ſhould be neither killed, mutilated, nor deſpoiled.

The holy ſee was protected, as we have ſeen, by the king of Sicily and Naples, who was become a dangerous neighbour, though a vaſſal.

The emperor and pope are aware of each other. Adrian, ſhut up in the fortreſs of Citta di Caſtello, agrees to the coronation, as one capitulates with his enemy. A knight, armed at all points, comes and ſwears to him on the evangeliſts, that his life and limbs ſhall be ſafe; and the emperor delivers into his hands that famous Arnold of Breſcia, who had excited the Roman people againſt the pontificate, and well nigh eſtabliſhed the Roman republic. Arnold is burned at Rome as an heretic; and a republican ſacrificed by two ſovereigns, who pretended to deſpotic power.

The pope viſits the emperor, who, according to the new ceremonial, was to kiſs his feet, hold his ſtirrup, and lead his white mule for the ſpace of nine Roman paces. The emperor made no ſcruple to kiſs the feet: but he refuſed to take hold of the bridle. Then the cardinals fled to the Cita di Caſtello, as if Frederic Barbaroſſa had given the ſignal for a civil war. He was given to underſtand that Lotharius II. had accepted of this ceremonial of Chriſtian humility: to which at length he ſubmits, and miſtaking the ſtirrup, ſays he had not yet learned the buſineſs of a groom.

The deputies of the Roman people, being more emboldened, ſince ſo many towns in Italy had ſounded the trumpet of liberty, come and ſay to Frederic: "We have made you our citizen and prince, ſtranger as you are, &c." Frederic commands them to be ſilent, and replies: "Charlemagne and Otho conquered you, I am your maſter, &c.

Frederic is conſecrated emperor in St. Peter's, June 18.

The

The nature of the empire was ſo little known, and all the pretenſions were ſo contradictory, that, on one hand, the Roman people took to arms, and a great deal of blood had been ſhed, becauſe the pope had crowned the emperor without the order of the ſenate and people: and, on the other hand, pope Adrian wrote in all his letters, that he had conferred upon Frederic the benefice of the Roman empire, *beneficium imperii Romani*. The word *beneficium* then ſignified a fief.

He moreover expoſes in public a picture repreſenting Lotharius II. on his knees before Alexander II. holding his hands claſped between thoſe of the pontiff, the diſtinguiſhing mark of vaſſalage. The inſcription of the picture was thus,

Rex venit ante fores, jurans priùs urbis honores:
Poſt, homo fit papæ; ſumit, quo dante, coronam.

"The king comes to the door, previouſly ſwearing he will maintain the honours of the city: then he becomes the vaſſal of the pope, from whoſe bounty he receives the crown."

We ſee Frederic already very powerful in Germany: for, at his return, he cauſed the count Palatine of the Rhine to be condemned in a diet 1156. for miſdemeanours. According to the new law of Suabia, the penalty was, that the delinquent ſhould carry a dog upon his ſhoulders a German mile. The archbiſhop of Mentz is condemned to the ſame ridiculous puniſhment: but they are ſpared the mortification. The emperor cauſes ſeveral ſmall caſtles belonging to banditti to be demoliſhed. He marries at Wirtzburg the daughter of a count of Burgundy, that is of Franche Comté, and by this match becomes direct lord of that country holding of the empire.

The Poles refuſe to pay their tribute, which was then fixed at five hundred marks of ſilver.
1157. Frederic marches towards Poland. The duke of Poland gives his brother as hoſtage, ſubmits to the tribute, and pays the arrears.

Frederic repairs to Beſançon, now become his own demeſne,

demeſne, and there receives the pope's legates, together with ambaſſadors from almoſt all the princes. He complains to the legates, with great haughtineſs, of the term Benefice, uſed by the court of Rome in mentioning the empire; and of the picture, in which Lotharius II. was repreſented as a vaſſal of the holy ſee. This haughtineſs was juſtified by his glory and his power, as well as by his right. One of the legates having ſaid: "If the emperor does not hold the empire of the pope, of whom then does he hold it?" the count Palatine, by way of anſwer, would have put them to death: however, the emperor ſends them back to Rome.

The rights of regality are confirmed to the archbiſhop of Lyons, acknowledged by the emperor, as primate of the Gauls. The archbiſhop's juriſdiction is, by this memorable act, extended over all the fiefs of Savoy. The original patent is ſtill extant. The ſeal is in a little bull or box of gold. It is from this manner of ſealing, that the name of bull has been given to conſtitutions.

The emperor grants the title of king to Uladiſlaus, duke of Bohemia, for his life. The emperor then conferred titles for life, even that of monarch; and a perſon was king by the emperor's favour, although his dominions were not a kingdom; ſo that in theſe beginnings we ſometimes find kings, and ſometimes dukes of Hungary, Poland, and Bohemia. 1158.

He marches into Italy; and, at firſt, the count Palatine, and the emperor's chancellor, who muſt not be confounded with the chancellor of the empire, go and receive the oaths of ſeveral towns, which oaths were conceived in theſe terms: "I ſwear I will always be faithful to my lord the emperor Frederic againſt all his enemies, &c." As he was then at variance with the pope, on account of the adventure of the legates at Beſançon, theſe oaths ſeem to have been exacted againſt the holy ſee.

It does not appear, that the popes were then ſovereigns of the lands given by Pepin, Charlemagne, and Otho I. The emperor's commiſſaries exerciſe all the rights of ſovereignity in the march of Ancona.

Adrian

Adrian IV. ſends new legates to the emperor at Augſburg, where he aſſembles his army. Frederic marches to Milan. This was already the moſt powerful town of Lombardy, in compariſon with which Pavia and Ravenna were but inconſiderable. It had made itſelf free ſince the time of the emperor Henry V. and was enriched by the fruitfulneſs of its territory, but, above all things, in conſequence of the liberty it enjoyed.

At the emperor's approach it ſent to offer him money for the preſervation of its liberty. But Frederic wanted both money and ſubmiſſion. The town is beſieged, and defends itſelf. The conſuls, in a little time capitulate. It is deprived of the privilege of coining, and all the rights of regality. The inhabitants are condemned to build a palace for the emperor, and pay 9000 marks of ſilver: all the citizens take the oath of allegiance. Milan, without a duke or a count, was governed as a conquered town.

Frederic begins to build the new Lodi, on the river Adda. He enacts new laws in Italy, and begins by decreeing, that every town convicted of tranſgreſſing theſe laws, ſhall pay 100 marks of gold, a marquis ſhall pay 50, a count 40, and a lord of the manor 20. He likewiſe ordains that no fief ſhall be divided: and as the vaſſals in doing homage to the lords of the great fiefs, ſwore to ſerve them without diſtinction, againſt every perſon whatſoever; he decrees, that in theſe oaths the emperor ſhall always be excepted. A law wiſely contrived, and contrary to the feudal cuſtoms of France, by which a vaſſal was obliged to ſerve his lord in war, even againſt the king.

The Genoeſe and Piſans had long ago wreſted Corſica and Sardinia from the Saracens, and ſtill diſputed the poſſeſſion with each other: a proof that they were very powerful. But Frederic, more powerful than they, ſends commiſſiaries to theſe two cities, and becauſe he is thwarted by the Genoeſe, makes them pay a fine of a thouſand marks of ſilver, and hinders them from continuing to fortify their city.

He

He re-eſtabliſhes order in the fiefs of the counteſs Mathilda, no part of which was poſſeſſed by the popes; and gives them to one Guelph, couſin to the duke of Saxony and Bavaria. His own nephew, the emperor Conrad's ſon is forgot. At this period, the univerſity of Bologna, the firſt of all the European univerſities, began to be eſtabliſhed, and the emperor beſtows privileges upon it.

Frederic I. began to be more maſter in Italy, than Charlemagne or Otho had been. He weakens the pope by ſupporting the prerogatives of the Roman ſenators, and ſtill more by putting troops in winter quarters in his dominions. 1159.

Adrian IV. the better to preſerve his temporalties, attacks Frederic Barbaroſſa with ſpiritual weapons. The queſtion is no longer about inveſtitures performed with a crooked or ſtraight ſtaff, but about the oath, which the biſhops take to the emperor. He treats that ceremony as ſacrilege, and, in the mean time, inflames the people by underhand inſinuations.

The Milaneſe take this opportunity to recover a ſmall ſhare of liberty. Frederic orders them to be proclaimed rebels and enemies to the Empire; and, by an ordinance, their effects are given up to plunder, and their perſons to ſlavery; an ordinance, which reſembles an order of Attila, rather than the conſtitution of a Chriſtian emperor.

Adrian IV. ſnatches this opportunity of trouble, to re-demand all the fiefs of the counteſs Mathilda, the duchy of Spoleto, together with Sardinia and Corſica. The emperor will give him nothing. He beſieges Crema, which had taken part with Milan; it is taken and plundered. Milan has ſome reſpite, and for ſome time enjoys the happineſs of owing its liberty to its own courage.

After the death of Adrian IV. the cardinals are divided. One half elects cardinal Rolando, who takes the name of Alexander III. a declared enemy to the emperor: the other chooſes Octavian his partizan, who calls himſelf Victor. Frederic Barbaroſſa, by virtue of his rights as emperor, ſummons a council 1160.

at Pavia, to decide between the two competitors. Alexander refuſes to acknowledge that council. Victor appears, and the council decides in his favour. The emperor kiſſes his feet, and leads his horſe, as he had before behaved to Adrian.

Alexander III. retires to Agnani, excommunicates the emperor, and abſolves his ſubjects of their oath of allegiance. It plainly appears that the pope depended upon the aſſiſtance of the kings of Naples and Sicily.

The Milaneſe take advantage of theſe diviſions.

1161. They have the courage to attack the imperial army at Carentia, a few miles from Lodi, and obtain a great victory. If the other towns of Italy had ſeconded Milan, this was the moment to deliver that fine country for ever from a foreign yoke.

The emperor repairs his army and his affairs. The

1162. Milaneſe, being blocked up, are in want of proviſions, and capitulate. The conſuls and eight knights come to Lodi, and lay their ſwords at the emperor's feet. He revokes the decree, by which the citizens were condemned to ſervitude, and their town to plunder; but as ſoon as he enters it, on the 27th of March, he orders the gates, ramparts, and all the public edifices, to be demoliſhed and the ruins to be ſowed with ſalt. Neither Huns, Goths nor Lombards, had treated Italy in this manner.

The Genoeſe, who pretended to be free, come and take the oath of allegiance; and, while they proteſt they will not pay annual tribute, give him 1200 marks of ſilver: they promiſe to equip a fleet to aſſiſt the emperor in conquering Sicily and Apulia; and Frederic gives them as a fief what is called The Riviera of Genoa, from Monaco to Porto-venere.

He marches to Bologna, which was confederate with Milan; and, though he protects the colleges, orders the walls to be diſmantled. Every thing ſubmits to his power.

Mean while the empire makes conqueſts in the North. The duke of Saxony conquers Mecklenburg, the country of the Vandals, and tranſplants thither German colonies.

To

To make the triumph of Frederic Barbaroſſa complete, his enemy pope Alexander III. flies from Italy and retires to France. Frederic goes to Beſançon, in order to intimidate the king of France, and detach him from Alexander's party.

It is in the zenith of his power, that he ſummons the kings of Denmark, Bohemia and Hungary, to come at his order, and give their votes in a diet againſt a Pope. Waldemar I. king of Denmark, obeys and repairs to Beſançon, where he is ſaid to have taken the oath of fidelity only for the reſt of Vandalia, which was abandoned to his conqueſts. Others alledge he renewed the homage for Denmark. If that was the caſe, he was the laſt king of Denmark who did homage for his kingdom to the empire. By this circumſtance the year 1162 becomes a very important æra.

The emperor goes to Mentz, where the people, excited by the monks, had murdered the archbiſhop: he orders the walls of the town to be razed, and they were not re-built for a long time. 1163.

Erfort, the capital of Thuringia, a town which the archbiſhop of Mentz pretended to be lord of, ſince Otho I. is ſurrounded with walls, at the very time when thoſe of Mentz are deſtroyed. 1164.

The eſtabliſhment of the ſociety of hans-towns. This union had begun by Hamburg and Lubec, which carried on ſome trade in imitation of the maritime towns of Italy: they ſoon became uſeful and powerful in furniſhing at leaſt the neceſſaries of life to the North of Germany: and ſince that time, when Lubec, which belonged to the famous Henry the Lion, by whom it was fortified, was declared an imperial town by Frederic Barbaroſſa, and the firſt of the maritime towns: when it had the privilege of coining money, that money was the beſt coined in all that country, where till that time none had been ſtruck, but of a very baſe allay. Hence the money called Sterling, or Eſterling, is ſuppoſed to have been derived; and hence London counted by pounds ſterling, when it was aſſociated with the hans-towns.

The ſame thing happens to the emperor which had happened to his predeceſſors. Leagues are formed againſt him in Italy, while he himſelf is in Germany. Rome leagues with Venice by means of Alexander III. Venice, impregnable by its ſituation, is formidable for its wealth: it had acquired great riches in the cruſades, in which the Venetians had hitherto no ſhare, except as dexterous merchants.

Frederic returns to Italy and ravages the Veroneſe, which belonged to the league: his pope Victor dies: he cauſes another to be conſecrated by a biſhop of Liege in contempt of all laws. This uſurper takes the name of Paſchal.

Sardinia was then governed by four bailiffs: one of theſe, who had amaſſed wealth, comes and demands the title of King from Frederic, and actually receives it: he trebles the taxes every-where, and returns to Germany with money enough to render him formidable.

A diet at Wurtzburg againſt Alexander III. The
1165. emperor exacts an oath from all the princes and biſhops, that they would not acknowledge Alexander. This diet is famous by the deputies of England, who come to give an account of the rights of the king and people againſt the pretenſions of the Church of Rome.

Frederic, in order to make his pope Paſchal more conſiderable, cauſes him to canonize Charlemagne. Aix-la-Chapelle takes the title of Capital of the Empire, though in effect it was not ſo: It obtains the privilege of coining money.

Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony and Bavaria,
1166. having prodigiouſly augmented his dominions, the emperor is not ſorry to ſee a confederacy in Germany againſt that prince. A bold and enterprizing archbiſhop of Cologne joins with ſeveral other biſhops, together with the count palatine, the count of Thuringia, and the marquis of Brandenbourg. A bloody war is carried on againſt Henry the Lion. The emperor leaves them to fight it out, and repairs again to Italy.

The

The Piſans and Genoeſe plead at Lodi, before the emperor for the poſſeſſion of Sardinia, which neither obtains. 1167.

Frederic goes and lays the Pentapolis under contribution, although it had been ſolemnly ceded to the Popes by ſo many emperors, and was inconteſtably the patrimony of the Church.

The league between Venice and Rome, and the hatred inſpired by Frederic's deſpotic power, engage Cremona, Bergamo, Mantua, Ferrara and other towns, to unite with the Milaneſe. All theſe towns and the Romans took arms at the ſame time.

The Romans attack part of the imperial army near Tuſculum: it was commanded by an archbiſhop of Mentz, very famous in thoſe days, called Chriſtiern, and by the archbiſhop of Cologne. It was a ſtrange ſpectacle to ſee theſe two prieſts thundering out a German ſong to animate their troops to battle.

But what ſtrongly denoted the decay of Rome, the Romans were entirely defeated, though ten times more numerous than the Germans.

Frederic then marches from Ancona to Rome, which he attacks: he burns the town Leonini, and the church of St. Peter is almoſt conſumed.

Pope Alexander flies to Beneventum. The emperor cauſes himſelf to be crowned with the empreſs Beatrice, by his anti-pope Paſchal, in the ruins of St. Peter.

From thence Frederic marches back with great expedition againſt the confederate towns. The plague, by which his army is deſolated for ſome time, contributes to their ſafety. The German troops, though victorious over the Romans, were often vanquiſhed by intemperance and the heat of the climate.

Alexander III. finds the ſecret of engaging at once in his party Emanuel emperor of the Greeks, and William king of Sicily, natural enemy of the Greeks; ſo much did they think it was for their common intereſt to unite againſt Barbaroſſa. 1168.

In effect, theſe two powers ſend money and ſome troops to the Pope. The emperor, at the head of an army very much diminiſhed, ſees the Milaneſe re-

build their walls under his very nose, and almost all Lombardy in a conspiracy against him: he retires towards the country of Morienne: the Milanese, emboldened, pursue him to the mountains: he escapes with great difficulty, and retreats to Alsace, while he is excommunicated by the Pope.

Italy breathes again in consequence of his retreat. The Milanese fortify themselves; and build, at the foot of the Alps, the town of Alexandria, in honour of the Pope.

This year Lunenburg begins to be a town.

The bishop of Wirtzburg obtains civil jurisdiction in the duchy of Franconia. It was in consequence of this grant that his successors have had the direction of the circle of that name.

Guelph, cousin-german of the famous Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony and Bavaria, on his death-bed, leaves to the emperor the duchy of Spoleto and the marquisate of Tuscany, with his right to Sardinia, a country claimed by so many competitors, abandoned to itself and its bailiffs, one of whom called himself King.

Frederic causes his eldest son Henry to be elected
1169. king of the Romans, while he himself is on the brink of losing Rome and Italy for ever.

Some months after, he causes his second son Frederic to be elected duke of Germany, and secures to him the duchy of Suabia. Foreign authors have imagined that Frederic had given all Germany to this son; but it was no more than antient Germany, properly so called. There was no other king of Germany than the emperor.

Frederic is no longer recognisable. Instead of going
1170. to fight, he negotiates with the Pope. His armies and his treasure were then diminished.

The Danes take Stetin. Henry the Lion, instead of assisting the emperor to recover Italy, takes the cross with his Saxon knights, in order to go and fight in Palestine.

Henry *the Lion*, finding a truce established in Asia,
1171. returns by the way of Egypt. The sultan had a mind to astonish Europe by his magnificence and

and generosity: he loads the duke of Saxony and Bavaria with presents, and, among other things, gives him fifteen hundred Arabian horses.

At length the emperor convenes a diet at Worms, and demands assistance from Germany to reduce Italy under his power. 1172.

He begins by sending a small army commanded by that same archbishop of Mentz, who had defeated the Romans.

The towns of Lombardy were confederated, but jealous one of another. Lucca was a mortal enemy of Pisa; Genoa hated Pisa and Florence; and by these divisions Italy was lost.

Christiern, archbishop of Mentz, dexterously succeeds in detaching the Venetians from the league; but Milan, Pavia, Florence, Cremona, Parma, and Bologna, are unshaken, and Rome supports them.

Mean while Frederic is obliged to go and appease the troubles in Bohemia, where he deposes Ladislaus, and gives the regency to the son of that prince. He could not be more absolute than he was in Germany, or more impotent than he was at that very time on the other side of the Alps.

At length he passes Mount Cenis; besieges that Alexandria which was built in his absence, and the name of which was odious to him; and begins by signifying to the inhabitants, that, if they would have the presumption to defend themselves, he would spare neither age nor sex. 1174.

The Alexandrians, assisted by the confederate towns, make a sally upon the Imperialists, whom they defeat in imitation of the Milanese. The emperor's disgrace is completed by his being abandoned by Henry *the Lion*, who retires with his Saxons, very ill disposed towards Barbarossa, who kept for himself the lands of Mathilda. 1175.

Italy then seemed to be upon the eve of being freed for ever.

Frederic receives reinforcements from Germany. The archbishop of Mentz is at the other end of Italy, in the march of Ancona, with his troops. 1176.

The war is puſhed with great vivacity on both ſides. The Milaneſe infantry, armed with pikes, defeats the the whole imperial houſhold troops. Frederic eſcapes with difficulty from the purſuit of the conquerors: he conceals himſelf, and at length takes ſhelter in Pavia.

This victory * was the ſignal of the liberty of the Italians for ſeveral years: they could then be hurt by none but themſelves. The haughty Frederic anticipates at laſt, and ſolicits pope Alexander, who had retired long ago to Anigni, equally afraid of the Romans, who would have no maſter, and of the emperor, who wanted to be maſter.

Frederic offers him his aſſiſtance to retrieve his authority in Rome, to reſtore the patrimony of St. Peter, and give him part of the lands of the counteſs Mathilda. A congreſs is aſſembled at Bologna.

The Pope cauſes the congreſs to be transferred to Venice, where he arrives in the ſhips of the king of Sicily. The ambaſſadors of Sicily, and the deputies of the Lombard towns, are the firſt who go thither. Chriſtiern, archbiſhop of Mentz, goes to conclude the peace.

1177.

It is difficult to explain how that peace, which ought to have ſecured the repoſe of the popes, and the liberty of the Italians, was no more than a truce for ſix years with the Lombard towns, and of fifteen with Sicily. There was no queſtion about the lands of the counteſs Mathilda, which had been the baſis of the treaty.

Every thing being concluded, the emperor repairs to Venice. The duke conducts him in his gondola to St Mark. The pope waited for him at the gate, with the tiara

* About the ſame time he was defeated at ſea by the Venetians, and his eldeſt ſon Henry, who commanded his fleet, fell into the hands of the enemy. The Pope, in honour of this victory, ſailed out into the open ſea, accompanied by the whole ſenate; and after having pronounced a thouſand benedictions on that element, threw into it a ring, as a mark of his gratitude and affection. This is the origin of that ceremony which is annually performed by the Venetians, under the notion of eſpouſing the Adriatic ſea.

ara upon his head. The emperor, without his cloak, onducts him to the chair, with a beadle's ſtaff in his and. The Pope preaches in Latin, which Frederic id not underſtand. After ſermon, the emperor comes nd kiſſes the Pope's feet, takes the communion from is hand, leads his mule in the ſquare of St. Mark, hen he comes from church; and Alexander III. cries loud, "It hath pleaſed God that an old man and a rieſt ſhould triumph over a powerful and terrible em- eror." All Italy looks upon Alexander III. as its de- verer and father.

The peace was ſworn upon the evangeliſts by twelve inces of the empire. Theſe treaties were hardly ever ritten at that time. There were few clauſes. The aths were ſufficient. Few of the German princes could ead, or ſign their names, and the pen was ſeldom uſed ut at Rome. This period reſembles thoſe ſavage times alled heroic.

Nevertheleſs, they exact from the emperor a parti- ular act, ſealed with his own ſeal, by which he pro- iſes not to diſturb the towns of Italy for ſix years.

How durſt Frederic Barbaroſſa, after that, paſs hrough Milan, the people of which had de- eated him, after he had treated them as 1178. laves? thither he went, however, on his return to Germany.

Other troubles haraſſed that vaſt, warlike, power- ul, and unfortunate country, in which there was not hen one town comparable to any of the middling owns of Italy.

Henry the Lion, maſter of Saxony and Bavaria, ſtill made war upon ſeveral biſhops, as the emperor had warred againſt the pope.

He ſunk like him, and even by means of the emper- or himſelf.

The archbiſhop of Cologne, aſſiſted by one half of Weſtphalia, the archbiſhop of Magdeburg, and a biſhop of Halberſtadt, were oppreſſed by Henry the Lion, and did him all the miſchief in their power. Al- moſt all Germany embraced their party.

Henry the Lion is the fourth duke of Bavaria that
1179. was put to the ban of the empire in the diet of Goſlar. A powerful army was required to execute this decree. That prince was more powerful than the emperor. He at that time commanded from Lubeck to the middle of Weſtphalia. He had beſides Bavaria, Stiria and Carinthia. His enemy, the archbiſhop of Cologne, is charged with the execution of the ban.

Among the vaſſals of the empire who bring troops to the archbiſhop of Cologne, we ſee one Philip count of Flanders, as well as a count of Hainault, a duke of Brabant, *&c.* This circumſtance might make one believe, that what is properly called Flanders, always conſidered itſelf as a member of the empire, although a part of France; ſuch uncertainty attends the feodal right.

Duke Henry defends himſelf in Saxony, takes Thuringia and Heſſe, and defeats the army of the archbiſhop.

The greateſt part of Germany is ravaged by that civil war; the natural effect of the feodal government. It is even ſtrange that it did not oftener produce this effect.

After various ſucceſs, the emperor holds a diet in the
1180. caſtle of Gelnhauſen near the Rhine. There the proſcription of Henry the Lion, is renewed and confirmed. There Frederic gives Saxony to Bernhard d'Anhalt, ſon of Albert the Bear, marquis of Brandenburg. He gives him likewiſe part of Weſtphalia. The houſe of Anhalt muſt then have become the moſt powerful in Germany.

Bavaria is granted to Otho count of Vitelſbach, chief of the emperor's court of juſtice. From this Otho Vitelſbach are deſcended the two electoral houſes of Bavaria, which after ſo many misfortunes ſtill ſubſiſt. They owe their greatneſs to Frederic Barbaroſſa.

As ſoon as thoſe noblemen were inveſted, each falls upon Henry the Lion, and the emperor puts himſelf at the head of the army.

They

They take from duke Henry Lunenburg, of which he was maſter; they attack Lubeck, of which he was protector; and Waldemar king of Denmark aſſiſts the emperor in the ſiege. 1181.

Lubeck, which was already rich, dreading to fall under the power of Denmark, ſurrenders to the emperor, who declares it an imperial town, capital of the towns upon the Baltic, with permiſſion to coin money.

Duke Henry, being no longer able to reſiſt, goes and throws himſelf at the feet of the emperor, who promiſes to maintain him in poſſeſſion of Brunſwick and Lunenburg, the remains of ſo many dominions which are taken from him.

Henry the Lion goes to London with his wife to his father-in-law king Henry II. She brings him a ſon called Otho, who was afterwards emperor under the name of Otho IV. and from a brother of this Otho IV. are deſcended the princes who now reign in England. So that the duke of Brunſwick, the kings of England, and the dukes of Modena, are all derived from one common origin, and that origin is Italian.

Germany is then quiet. Frederic aboliſhes ſeveral barbarous cuſtoms; among others, that of plundering the moveables of the dead; an horrible right, which all the citizens of the towns exerciſe at the deceaſe of a burgher, at the expence of his heirs; and which always produced bloody quarrels, though moveables at that time were of ſmall importance. 1182.

All the cities of Lombardy enjoy a profound peace, and reſpire new life.

The Romans ſtill perſiſt in the notion of withdrawing themſelves from the power of the popes, as well as from that of the emperors. They expel from Rome pope Lucius III. the ſucceſſor of Alexander.

The ſame Chriſtiern, archbiſhop of Mentz, ſtill the emperor's general, marches with an army to the aſſiſtance of the pope, but dies at Tuſculum.

The ſenate lord it in Rome. Some clerks, ſuppoſed to be ſpies from Pope Lucius III. are ſent back to him

him without their eyes. A piece of inhumanity unworthy of the Roman name.

Frederic I. declares Ratiſbon an imperial town. He
1183. detaches Tirol from Bavaria, and likewiſe diſmembers it of Stiria, which he erects into a duchy.

The celebrated congreſs held at Placentia, April 30, between the emperor's commiſſaries and the deputies of all the towns in Lombardy. Even thoſe of Venice were preſent. They agree that the emperor may exact the oath of fidelity from his vaſſals of Italy; and that they are obliged to march to his aſſiſtance, in caſe he ſhould be attacked in his journey to Rome, which is called the Roman expedition.

They ſtipulate that the towns and the vaſſals ſhall furniſh the emperor in his paſſage with nothing but ordinary forage, and proviſions for the month.

The emperor grants them the right of having troops, fortifications, and tribunals, without appeal, in cauſes to the amount of fifty marks of ſilver, and that no cauſe ſhall ever be reheard in Germany.

If in theſe towns the biſhop has the title of count, he ſhall preſerve the right of electing conſuls in his epiſcopal town; and if the biſhop is not in poſſeſſion of that right, it is reſerved to the emperor.

This treaty, which made Italy free under a chief, has been long conſidered by the Italians as the foundation of their public right.

The marquis of Malaſpina and the counts of Crema are therein ſpecially named, and the emperor tranſacts with them as with the other towns. All the lords of the fiefs in general are therein comprehended.

In all probability the deputies of Venice ſigned this treaty only for the fiefs they poſſeſſed on the continent; as for the city of Venice, it would not put its liberty and independence upon any ſuch compromiſe.

A great diet at Mentz, where the emperor again
1184. cauſes his ſon Henry to be acknowledged king of the Romans.

He knights his two ſons Henry and Frederic: he is the firſt emperor who thus knighted his ſons with the ce-

remonies

remonies then uſed. The new knight watched his arms; afterwards he was put in the bath; then he came to receive the kiſs and cuff in a tunic: his ſpurs were buckled on by knights: he dedicated his ſword to God and the ſaints: he was cloathed with an epitoge or looſe robe: but what was the moſt whimſical part of the farce, he was ſerved at dinner without being allowed to eat or drink.

The emperor goes to Verona, whither Lucius III. had retired on his expulſion from Rome, and there a ſmall council was held. The queſtion was not to reeſtabliſh Lucius at Rome. The ſubject of debate was the great quarrel about the lands of the counteſs Mathilda, and nothing was agreed upon. The Pope likewiſe refuſed to crown young Henry emperor.

The emperor goes and cauſes him to be crowned king of Italy at Milan, to which place the iron crown was removed from Monza.

The pope, who had already quarrelled with the Romans, is imprudent enough to quarrel with the emperor, upon the ſubject of that dangerous inheritance of Mathilda. 1185.

A king of Sardinia commands the troops of Frederic. The king of Sardinia is the ſon of that bailiff who had bought the title of king. He ſeizes ſome towns, of which the popes were ſtill in poſſeſſion. Lucius III. almoſt ſtripped of every thing, dies at Verona; and Frederic, tho' the pope's conqueror, cannot be ſovereign in Rome.

The emperor, at Milan, Feb. 6, marries his ſon king Henry to Conſtance of Sicily, daughter of Roger II. king of Naples and Sicily, and grand-daughter of Roger I. of that name. She was preſumptive heireſs of that fine kingdom; and this marriage was productive of the moſt tedious and dreadful misfortunes. 1186.

This year ought to be famous in Germany for the cuſtom which one Bertrand biſhop of Mentz introduced, of having archieves in every town to regiſter the deeds and writings of private eſtates. Before that time, every

every thing was proved by evidence only, and almoſt all diſputes were decided by combat.

Pomerania, which, after having belonged to the Poles, became vaſſal of the empire, and paid a ſlight tribute, is ſubdued by Canute king of Den-
1187. mark, and becomes a vaſſal of the Danes. Sleſwick formerly holding of the empire, becomes a duchy of Denmark. Thus did that kingdom, which itſelf formerly held of Germany, deprive the empire at once of two provinces.

Frederic Barbaroſſa, heretofore ſo great and powerful, had nothing now but the ſhadow of authority in Italy, and ſaw the power of Germany greatly diminiſhed.

He retrieves his reputation, in preſerving the crown of Bohemia to a duke or king whom his ſubjects had depoſed.

The Genoeſe build a fort at Monaco, and make the acquiſition of Gavi.

Great troubles in Savoy. The emperor Frederic declares againſt the count of Savoy, detaches ſeveral fiefs from that country, and among others, the biſhoprics of Turin and Geneva. The biſhops of theſe towns become noblemen of the empire. Hence proceed perpetual quarrels between the biſhops and counts of Geneva.

Saladin the greateſt man of his time, having retaken Jeruſalem from the Chriſtians, pope Clement
1188. III. cauſes a new cruſade to be preached over all Europe.

The zeal of the Germans took fire; we can ſcarce conceive the motives that determined the emperor Frederic to march towards Paleſtine, and at the age of ſixty-eight renew an enterprize concerning which a wiſe prince ought to have been by this time diſabuſed: What ſtrongly marks the character of the times, he ſends a count of the empire to Saladin to demand, in a formal manner, Jeruſalem and the true croſs.

We here ſee a remarkable example of the ſpirit of the times. It was to be feared that Henry *the Lyon*, in the emperor's abſence, would make an attempt to recover

cover the dominions of which he had been deſpoiled. He is obliged to ſwear that he will make no attempt during the holy war. He ſwears, and his oath is believed.

Frederic Barbaroſſa with his ſon Frederic duke of Suabia, marches through Auſtria and Hungary with above a hundred thouſand cruſards. 1189. If he could have led ſuch an army of volunteers to Rome, he would have been emperor indeed. The firſt enemies he finds are the Chriſtian Greeks of the empire of Conſtantinople. The Greek emperor and the cruſards had always found ſubject of complaint againſt one another.

The emperor of Conſtantinople was Iſaacus Angelus. He refuſes to give the title of Emperor to Frederic, whom he regards as king of Germany only, and he ſignifies to him that if he had a mind to obtain a paſſage, he muſt give hoſtages. We ſee in the conſtitutions of Goldaſt the letters of theſe two emperors. Iſaacus Angelus gives Frederic no other title than that of advocate of the Roman church. Frederic by way of anſwer calls angelus a dog. Yet after this, we are aſtoniſhed at the epithets given to one another by Homer's heroes in times ſtill more horoic!

Frederic having opened the paſſage ſword in hand defeats the ſultan of Iconium, takes his city, paſſes Mount Taurus, and dies of the plague * 1190. after his victory, leaving a reputation famous for inequality and greatneſs, and a memory much more dear to Germany than Italy.

He

* Barre ſays expreſsly, that he was drowned in the river Cydnus, and that his body was buried at Tyre. This is the ſame river into which Alexander the Great plunging, when he was warm, was ſeized with a ſudden chillneſs which produced a dangerous fever: In all probability Barbaroſſa owed his death to the ſame cauſe; being an expert ſwimmer, he ventured to bathe in the river while warm, and the extreme coldneſs of its water, (for which it is remarkable) ſuddenly checking the perſpiration, excited a fever, which proved fatal, becauſe perhaps he had not a phyſician equal in ſkill to Philip the Macedonian.

He is ſaid to have been buried at Tyre, but we do not really know what place contains the aſhes of an emperor who made ſo much noiſe in his life-time. His ſucceſs in Aſia muſt have been made leſs ſolid than ſhining; for his ſon Frederic of Suabia had no more than an army of about ſeven or eight thouſand fighting men left out of above an hundred thouſand who arrived in thoſe parts.

The ſon ſoon died of the plague like his father; and nobody remained in Aſia but Leopold duke of Auſtria with a few knights. Thus terminated every cruſade.

HENRY VI.

TWENTY-THIRD EMPEROR.

HENRY VI. already twice acknowledged and crowned during his father's life, does not renew that ceremony, but reigns in full right and power.

1190.

Henry *the Lion*, the old duke of Saxony and Bavaria, who poſſeſſed ſo many towns, had very little regarded the oath he took to abſtain from all attempts to recover his fortune. He had already entered Holſtein, and his party was eſpouſed by the biſhops, particularly the biſhop of Bremen.

Henry VI. gives him battle near Verden, and is conqueror. At laſt peace is made with that prince, who was ſo often proſcribed and ſo often in arms. He is left in poſſeſſion of Brunſwick after it is diſmantled. He divides with the count of Holſtein the title of lord of Lubeck, which ſtill continues a free town under its lords.

The emperor Henry VI. having ſecured Germany by this victory and peace, turns his thoughts towards Italy. There he might have been more powerful than Charlemagne and the Othos, as being direct poſſeſſor of

of the lands of Mathilda, king of Naples in right of his wife, and lord paramount of all the reſt.

He was obliged to look after this inheritance of Naples and Sicily. The noblemen of the country were not at all deſirous of ſeeing that kingdom, which had become flouriſhing in ſo little a time, a ſubjected province of Germany. The blood of thoſe French gentlemen, who had by their courage become their kings and countrymen, was very dear to him. They elected Tancred, ſon of prince Roger, and grandſon of their good king Roger. This prince Tancred was not born of a marriage deemed legitimate. But how many baſtards have before him inherited the greateſt kingdoms? Beſides, the will of the people and election ſeem the firſt of all rights. 1191.

The emperor treats with the Genoeſe about furniſhing a fleet with which he may go and diſpute Apuglia and Sicily. Merchants are able to do that which the emperor could not do of himſelf. He confirms the privileges of the towns of Lombardy, to engage them in his favour. He behaves reſpectfully to Pope Celeſtin III. an old man turned of fourſcore, who, tho' not prieſt, had been elected.

The ceremony of the exaltation of popes, in thoſe days, was performed in this manner; as ſoon as they were nominated, they were clothed with a red cope. They were conducted to a ſtone pulpit, through which there was a hole, called *Stercorarium:* then to a pulpit of porphyry, where they were preſented with two keys, that of the church of the Lateran, and that of the palace, the origin of the pope's arms; from thence to a third pulpit, where he was preſented with a ſilken girdle, and a purſe with twelve ſtones, in imitation of the ephod of the high prieſt of the Jews. It is not known at what period theſe cuſtoms began. Thus was Celeſtin exalted before he was a prieſt.

On the emperor's arrival at Rome, the pope cauſed himſelf to be ordained prieſt on Eaſter-eve, next day he is conſecrated biſhop, and the day after conſecrates Henry VI. with the empreſs Conſtance.

Roger

Roger de Hoveden, an Engliſhman, is the only author who relates that the pope kicked down the crown with which the emperor was to be adorned, and that it was ſet up again by the cardinals. He miſtakes an accident for a ceremony *. It has been likewiſe ſuppoſed to have been a mark of pride, equally brutal and ridiculous. Either the pope doted, or the adventure is not true.

The emperor, in order to render the pope favourable to him in his expedition of Naples and Sicily, reſtores to him the ancient town of Tuſculum. The Pope gives it to the Roman people, whoſe municipal government ſtill ſubſiſted. The Romans demoliſhed it entirely: in this particular they ſeem to have adopted the deſtructive ſpirit of the Goths and Heruli who ſettled among them.

Nevertheleſs, old Celeſtin III. as Paramount of Naples and Sicily, dreading a powerful vaſſal, who would not yield obedience, forbids the emperor to attempt that conqueſt: a prohibition as ridiculous as kicking the crown, ſeeing he could not hinder the emperor from marching to Naples.

Diſeaſes always deſtroy the German troops in hot and fruitful countries. One half of the imperial army dies upon the way to Naples.

Conſtance the emperor's wife is at Salerno delivered to king Tancred, who generouſly ſends her back to her huſband.

The emperor poſtpones his enterprize upon Naples and Sicily, and goes to Worms. He makes
1192. Conrad, one of his brothers, duke of Suabia. He gives to Philip another brother, who was afterwards emperor, the duchy of Spoleto, which he takes from the houſe of the Guelphs.

The eſtabliſhment of the knights of the Teutonic order, deſtined at firſt for the ſervice of the ſick in Paleſtine,

* Who told M. de Voltaire that this was an accident: It was ſuch an inſtance of inſolence as cardinal Pandulpho afterwards exhibited to John, king of England, at Dover, with a view to demonſtrate the dependence of that kingdom on the ſee of Rome.

leſtine, and ſince become conquerors. The firſt houſe they have in Germany, is built at Coblentz.

Henry *the Lion* renews his pretenſions, and reſumes his arms. He makes no attempt upon Saxony, or Bavaria, but falls again upon Holſtein, and loſes all that he left elſewhere.

At that time Saladine the great, drove all the Chriſtians from Syria. Richard *Cœur de Lion*, king of England, after having performed exploits equally admirable and ineffectual, returns like the reſt *. He was upon bad terms with the emperor, and upon worſe with Leopold duke of Auſtria, on account of a childiſh quarrel about a point of honour, which had happened between them in the unfortunate wars of the Eaſt. He paſſes through the duke's territories; and that prince puts him in irons, contrary to the oath of all the Cruſards, contrary to the reſpect due to royalty, and contrary to the honour and law of nations. 1193.

The duke of Auſtria delivers his priſoner to the emperor. Eleonora wife of Richard *Cœur de Lion* †, finding herſelf unable to revenge, offers to ranſom her huſband. This ranſom is ſaid to have amounted to one hundred and fifty thouſand marks of ſilver. That is about two millions of German crowns; and conſidering the ſcarcity of money and the price of proviſions, that ſum would be equivalent to forty millions of crowns in our time ‡. Hiſtorians perhaps have taken one hundred

* Richard's generoſity in this expedition was equal to his valour; for, in order to compromiſe the difference between Guy de Luzignan and Conrad, who diſputed the crown of Jeruſalem, he preſented the firſt with the kingdom of Cyprus, which he had conquered in his voyage to Paleſtine. Being after many ſignal exploits, deſerted by Philip Auguſtus, and other European allies, he concluded a truce for three years with Saladine, on condition that Aſcalon ſhould be demoliſhed, that the Chriſtians ſhould fortify Joppa, and occupy all the places on the ſea-coaſt.

† She was his mother.

‡ Computing the mark at eight ounces of ſilver, and each ounce at five ſhillings, the ſum of one hundred and fifty thouſand marks, amounts to three hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. That the ranſom of Richard could not be leſs than this ſum, may be judged from

dred and fifty thouſand marks, *(marcas)* for an hundred and fifty thouſand marks, which were no more than half livres. Theſe miſtakes are but too common.

Whatever the ranſom was, the emperor Henry VI. who had no other right to it than that of banditti, received it as baſely, as he had unjuſtly detained Richard. It is likewiſe ſaid that he compelled him to do homage for the kingdom of England. Vain homage indeed! Richard would have been far from deſerving the ſirname of *Cœur de Lion*, if he had ſtooped to ſuch abject ſubmiſſion.

A biſhop of Prague is made duke or king of Bohemia. He purchaſes his inveſtiture from Henry VI. for a ſum of money.

Henry *the Lion* now ſeventy years of age, marries his ſon, who bears the title of count of Brunſwick, to Agnes daughter of Conrad count Palatine the emperor's uncle. Agnes loved the count of Brunſwick: this marriage, to which the emperor conſents, reconciles him to the old duke, who dies ſoon after, leaving Brunſwick at leaſt to his deſcendents.

It is probable that the emperor Henry VI. ranſomed king Richard, and inveſted the epiſcopal king of Bohemia, on purpoſe to have wherewithal to conquer Naples and Sicily. Tancred, his competitor, dies. The people chooſe his ſon William, though an infant, in his room; a plain proof that it was not ſo much

1194.

from the following circumſtances. Every military tenant was, by the feudal law, and the nature of his tenure, obliged to give aid for the ranſom of his lord from captivity. This ſoccage was raiſed in England, together with a talliage or hydage upon cities, boroughs, and manors, belonging to the crown, or in the king's hands, by eſcheat. Beſides theſe, great ſums were raiſed from the voluntary contributions of the people, zealous for their king's releaſe. The parochial clergy granted one tenth of their tythes; the biſhops, abbots, and nobility, freely parted with a fourth of their income; the ceſtertians gave up all their revenue of wool for one year; the pariſhes melted down their ſacred chalices; the cathedrals and monaſteries ſold their plate and treaſures to the amount of thirty thouſand marks, on promiſe of being reimburſed after the king's return.

much Tancred as the nation which diſputed the throne of Naples with the emperor.

The Genoeſe furniſh Henry with the fleet they had promiſed, and to this the Piſans add twelve galleys. The emperor with theſe forces furniſhed by the Italians to enſlave Italy, appears before Naples, which ſurrenders; and, while he is beſieging Palermo and Catanea in Sicily, Tancred's widow, being ſhut up in Salerno, capitulates, and yields up the two kingdoms, on condition that her ſon William ſhall have the principality of Tarentum. Thus, an hundred years after Robert and Roger had conquered Sicily, the fruit of the toils of the French knights falls into the hands of the houſe of Suabia.

The Genoeſe demand of the emperor the execution of the treaty he had made with them; the reſtitution of ſome lands, as therein ſtipulated, and the confirmation of their privileges in Sicily granted by king Roger. Henry VI. anſwers to this effect: "When you ſhall have convinced me that you are really free, and do not owe me a fleet in quality of vaſſals, I will keep the promiſe I have made." Then, joining the moſt atrocious cruelty to perfidy and ingratitude, he orders Tancred's body to be dug up and decapitated by the hands of the hangman: he orders William, the ſon of Tancred, to be caſtrated and ſent priſoner to Caire, where his eyes are put out. The queen his mother and her daughters are conducted to Germany, and ſhut up in a convent of Alſace. Henry carries off part of the treaſure which had been amaſſed by the kings. And mankind allow ſuch men to rule them!

Henry of Brunſwick, ſon of *the Lion*, obtains the palatinate after the death of the Palatine Conrad his father-in-law. 1195.

A new cruſade is publiſhed at Worms. Henry VI. promiſes to go and fight for Jeſus Chriſt.

The zeal of thoſe ultramarine voyages increaſed by misfortune, juſt as religions have been ſtrengthened by perſecution. A ſiſter of Philip Auguſtus king of France, widow of Bela king of Hungary, puts herſelf at the head of the German cruſards, and 1196.

goes

goes to Paleſtine to experience the fate of all thoſe who had gone before her. Henry VI. orders another part of the cruſard army to march into Italy, where it could be more uſeful to him than at Jeruſalem.

This is one of the moſt curious and intereſting points of hiſtory. The great Belgic chronicle relates,
1197. that Henry not only cauſed his ſon Frederic II. a child in the cradle, to be elected by two and fifty noblemen or biſhops; but likewiſe declared the empire hereditary, and decreed that Naples and Sicily ſhould be incorporated for ever with the empire. If Henry VI. could make ſuch laws, he made them without doubt; and he was formidable enough to make them without contradiction. Certain it is, his epitaph at Panorma imports, that he reunited Sicily to the empire: but the popes ſoon rendered that reunion ineffectual; and at his death it plainly appeared that the right of election was ſtill dear to the noblemen of Germany.

Mean while Henry VI. marches to Naples over land: all the noblemen of that country were incenſed againſt him, and a general inſurrection was to be feared: he ſtrips them of their fiefs, which he beſtows upon the Germans or Italians of his own party. Deſpair forms the conſpiracy which the emperor wanted to prevent. One count Jordani, of the houſe of the Norman princes, puts himſelf at the head of the people: he is delivered up to the emperor, who cauſes him to be put to death by a torture, which one would imagine an imitation of the fabulous tyrants of antiquity: he is tied naked on a chair of red hot iron, and crowned with a circle of the ſame metal burning hot, nailed to his head.

Then the emperor allows the reſt of the German cruſards to depart. They land in Cyprus.
1198. The biſhop of Wurtzburg, by whom they are conducted, gives the crown of Cyprus to Emeri de Luſignan, who choſe rather to be a vaſſal of the German than of the Greek empire.

This ſame Emeri de Luſignan, king of Cyprus, marries Iſabella daughter of the laſt king of Jeruſalem; and from hence comes the title of king of Cyprus and Jeruſalem, which ſeveral ſovereigns have diſputed in Europe.

The

The German cruſards meet with various fortune in Aſia. In the mean time Henry VI. remains in Sicily with a ſmall number of troops: and this ſecurity is the cauſe of his ruin: they conſpire at Naples and in Sicily againſt the tyrant: his own wife Conſtance is the ſoul of the conſpiracy. They betake themſelves to arms on all hands. Conſtance forſakes her cruel huſband, and puts herſelf at the head of the conſpirators. All the Germans found in Sicily are murdered. This is the firſt ſtroke of the Sicilian veſpers, afterwards tolled under Charles of France. Henry is fain to capitulate with his wife: he dies, and, it is ſaid, of poiſon which his wife gave him; a crime perhaps excuſable in a woman who revenged her family and country, if poiſoning, and eſpecially poiſoning a huſband, can ever be juſtified.

PHILIP I.

TWENTY-FOURTH EMPEROR.

AT firſt the noblemen and biſhops aſſembled at Arnſberg, in Thuringia, grant the adminiſtration of Germany to Philip duke of Suabia, uncle to Frederic II. a minor, who had been al- 1198. ready acknowledged as king of the Romans. Thus the true emperor was Frederic II. but other noblemen, being incenſed to ſee an elective empire become hereditary, chooſe another king at Cologne; and elect the leaſt powerful, in order to be powerful under his name. This pretended king or emperor called Bertold, duke of a ſmall part of Swiſſerland, ſoon renounced the vain honour which he could not maintain. Then the aſſembly of Cologne elect Otho duke of Brunſwick, ſon of Henry *the Lion*. The electors were the duke of Lorrain, a count of Kuke, the archbiſhop of Cologne, the biſhops of Minden, Paderborn, the abbot of Corbie, and two other abbots, who were Benedictine monks.

Philip muſt likewiſe be nominated emperor, and is elected

elected at Erfort. Here are four emperors in one year, but not one of them an emperor indeed.

Otho of Brunſwick was in England; and Richard king of England, who had been ſo unworthily treated by Henry VI. and was juſtly the enemy of the houſe of Suabia, eſpouſed the party of Brunſwick; of conſequence Philip Auguſtus, king of France, declares for the other emperor Philip.

Here was another opportunity for the towns of Italy to ſhake off the German yoke: they became daily more and more powerful; but even that power creates diviſions among them. Some held for Otho of Brunſwick, and others for Philip of Suabia. Pope Innocent III. remains neuter between the competitors. Germany ſuffers all the miſchiefs of a civil war.

In theſe inteſtine troubles of Germany, nothing is ſeen but change of party, agreements made and infringed, and weakneſs on all ſides: nevertheleſs Germany is ſtill called the Roman Empire. 1199, 1200.

The empreſs Conſtance ſtays in Sicily with her ſon prince Frederic. There ſhe was in peace; there ſhe was regent; and nothing could more plainly prove that ſhe had conſpired againſt her huſband Henry VI. than her retaining, in obedience to her ſon, thoſe very people who had taken arms againſt the father. Naples and Sicily, in young Frederic, loved the ſon of Conſtance, and the blood of their own kings. They did not even regard this Frederic II. as the ſon of Henry VI. and, in all probability, he really was not; ſeeing his mother, when ſhe demanded for him the inveſtiture of Naples and Sicily of pope Celeſtine III. had been obliged to ſwear that Henry VI. was his father.

The famous pope Innocent III. ſon of a count of Segni, having taken poſſeſſion of the papal chair, a new inveſtiture was required. Here begins a very ſingular quarrel, which, after the lapſe of above five hundred years, continues ſtill undetermined.

We have ſeen thoſe knights of Normandy, who became princes and kings of Naples and Sicily, holding at firſt of the emperors, and afterwards doing homage to the

the Pope. When Roger, as yet no more than count of Sicily, gave new laws to that iſland, which he at one time won from the Mahometans and Greeks, when he reſtored ſo many churches to the Roman communion, pope Urban II. ſolemnly granted him the power of the legates à latere, and of legates born of the holy ſee. Theſe legates judged all eccleſiaſtical cauſes in the laſt appeal, conferred benefices, and levied tithes. Since that time the kings of Sicily were in fact legates and vicars of the holy ſee, and really popes in their own kingdom: they had in reality the power of the two ſwords. This ſole privilege, which ſo many kings might have arrogated to themſelves, was no-where known but in Sicily. The ſucceſſors of pope Urban II. had confirmed this prerogative, either by good-will or compulſion. Celeſtin III. had not conteſted it; but Innocent III. oppoſed it; treated the legation of the kings of Sicily as having been ſurreptitiouſly obtained; and demanded, that Conſtance would renounce it in the name of her ſon, and do liege, pure and ſimple homage, for Sicily.

Conſtance dies before this order is obeyed, and leaves to the Pope the tutelage of king and kingdom.

Innocent III. will not own Philip for emperor; but acknowledges Otho, to whom he writes: "By the authority of God derived to us, we receive you, and order you to be obeyed as king of the Romans; and after the uſual preliminaries, we will give you the imperial crown." 1201.

Philip Auguſtus king of France, partizan of Philip of Suabia, and enemy to Otho, writes to the Pope in favour of Philip; and Innocent III. anſwers: "Either Philip muſt loſe the empire, or I loſe the pontificate."

Innocent III. publiſhes a new cruſade, in which the Germans have no concern. It was in this cruſade that the Chriſtians of the Weſt took Conſtantinople, inſtead of aſſiſting the Holy Land; it was this that extended the power and dominions of Venice. 1202.

The northern parts of Germany become weak in

theſe troubles. The Danes make themſelves maſters
1203 of Vandalia, which is part of Ruſſia and Pomerania: it is difficult to aſcertain its limits. Were there any limits then in thoſe barbarous countries? Holſtein, annexed to Denmark, no longer acknowledged the empire.

1204. The duke of Brabant acknowledges Philip for emperor, and does him homage.

Several noblemen follow that example. Philip is
1205. conſecrated at Aix by the archbiſhop of Cologne. The civil war continues in Germany.

Otho, being defeated by Philip near Cologne, flies for
1206. refuge to England. Then the Pope conſents to abandon him: he promiſes to take off Philip's excommunication, incurred by every prince who calls himſelf emperor, without the permiſſion of the holy ſee: he will acknowledge him as lawful emperor, provided he will give his ſiſter in marriage to a nephew of his Holineſs, and beſtow upon her, by way of dower, the duchy of Spoleto, Tuſcany and the marche of Ancona. Theſe are ſtrange propoſals: the marche of Ancona properly belonged to the holy ſee. Philip rejects the Pope's propoſal, chooſing rather to be excommunicated, than to part with ſuch a dower: nevertheleſs, by releaſing an archbiſhop of Cologne, who was his priſoner, he obtains his abſolution without making the match.

Otho returns from England to Germany, where
1207. he appears ſeemingly without partizans, though doubtleſs he muſt have had private friends, ſeeing he did return.

Count Otho, who was palatine in Bavaria, aſſaſſi-
1208. nates the emperor at Bamberg, and makes his eſcape very eaſily.

OTHO

OTHO IV.

TWENTY-FIFTH EMPEROR.

OTHO, in order to ſtrengthen his intereſt, and unite the factions, marries Beatrice, daughter of the murdered emperor.

Beatrice demands vengeance at Frankfort for her father's death: the diet puts the aſſaſſin to the ban of the empire. Count Papenheim does more; ſome time after he murders the emperor's murderer.

Otho IV. ſtill more to corroborate his intereſt, confirms the rights and privileges of the Italian towns, and even acknowledges thoſe which had been arrogated by the Popes. He writes to Innocent III. "We will yield you that obedience which our predeceſſors have yielded to yours." He leaves him in poſſeſſion of the countries, which the pontiff had already recovered, namely, Viterbo, Orvieta and Peruſa. He promiſes him all the famous inheritance of Mathilda; and he cedes to him the territorial ſuperiority, that is, the ſupremacy and dependence of Naples and Sicily. 1209.

No greater harmony could poſſibly appear; but ſcarce is he crowned at Rome, when he makes war upon the Pope for theſe very towns. 1210.

He had left to the Pope the right paramount and charge of Naples and Sicily; and he goes to make himſelf maſter of Apulia, the inheritance of young Frederic, king of the Romans, who was ſtripped at once of the empire and his mother's inheritance.

Innocent III. can do no leſs than excommunicate Otho. Excommunication is a meer trifle againſt an eſtabliſhed prince; but a very ſerious affair againſt a prince who has enemies. 1211.

The dukes of Bavaria and Auſtria, and the landgrave of Thuringia, reſolve to dethrone him. The

archbiſhop of Mentz excommunicates him, and the whole faction acknowledges young Frederic II.

Germany is again divided. Otho, on the brink of loſing Germany for having attempted to ſeize Apulia, repaſſes the Alps.

The emperor Otho aſſembles his adherents at Nu-
1212. remberg. Young Frederic paſſes the Alps after him, and makes himſelf maſter of Alſace, the noblemen of which declare in his favour. He engages Ferri duke of Lorrain in his party. Germany is from one end to the other the ſcene of civil war.

Frederic II. at length receives the crown at
1213. Aix-la-chapelle from the archbiſhop of Mentz. Mean while, Otho ſupports himſelf, and regains almoſt every thing, when he ſeems to be on the eve of loſing the whole.

He was ſtill protected by England; while his competitor Frederic II. enjoyed the protection of France. Otho reinforces his party by marrying the daughter of the duke of Brabant, after the death of his wife Beatrice. John, king of England, gives him money to attack the king of France. This John was not yet John Lackland *, though he was deſtined to be ſo, and become like Otho, moſt unfortunate.

It ſeems very remarkable, that Otho, who a year
1214. before could ſcarce defend himſelf in Germany, ſhould now be able to make war upon Philip Auguſtus. But he was followed by the dukes of Limburg and Lorrain, the count of Holland, with all the noblemen of that country, and the count of Flanders, who had been intereſted by the king of England. It is ſtill problematical, whether or not the counts

* Our author is here miſtaken in two circumſtances. John was called Lackland from his having no landed eſtate or patrimony, during the life of his elder brother. It was not he, but his brother Richard, who had ſo generouſly aſſiſted Otho; as for John, he refuſed to pay the legacy which his brother had left to that prince, alledging, that he had reſtricted himſelf by oath from aſſiſting Otho, either with money, jewels, lands, or men.

counts of Flanders, who then did homage to France, were, notwithſtanding that homage, conſidered as vaſſals of the empire.

Otho marches towards Valenciennes with an army of above an hundred and twenty thouſand fighting men, while Frederic II. concealed ſomewhere about Switzerland, waited the iſſue of this great enterprize. Philip Auguſtus was hard preſſed between the emperor and the king of England.

The Battle of BOVINES.

Between Liſle and Tournay there is a ſmall village, called Bovines, near which Otho IV. at the head of an army ſaid to be an hundred and twenty thouſand ſtrong, attacked the king, who had ſcarce half the number. At that time they began to uſe croſs-bows, machines which threw long and heavy arrows, and which were bent with a tourniquet: This weapon was in uſe under Lewis the Groſs. But what decided the fate of a battle was the heavy cavalry, quite covered with iron, conſiſting of all the lords of the fiefs, and their ſquires. The knights wore a cuiraſs, buſkins, knee-pieces, braſſets, cuiſhes, and an helmet. All this armour was made of iron, and above the cuiraſs they had a ſhirt of mail called *Haubert*, from the word *Albus*: this coat of mail was adorned with a piece of ſtuff embroidered with the knight's coat of arms. Theſe bearings, which began to be in uſe, were called coats of arms, becauſe they were figured on the knight's arms, to diſtinguiſh him in battle. Squires had no right to wear the hauberts or haubergeon: their helmet was not faced and cloſed, conſequently not ſo good a defence. They had no braſſets nor cuiſhes; thus armed more lightly, they had more agility in mounting a horſe, and could better riſe up in battle, than thoſe heavy maſſes of knights, who could not move, or even be wounded but with difficulty. Beſides, the complete armour of knights was a prerogative of honour, to which the ſquires had no pretenſion; they were not allowed to be invulnerable. All that a knight had to fear, was

being wounded in the face when he lifted up his beaver, or in the flank, through any defect in his cuiraſs, when he was beaten down, or when his coat of mail was taken off; or laſtly, in the armpits, when he raiſed his arms. There were likewiſe troops of cavalry draughted from the common ſoldiery, not ſo well armed as the knights. As for the infantry, every man had what defenſive armour he pleaſed to wear, and his offenſive arms were the ſword, the arrow, the club and ſling.

It was a biſhop who drew up in line of battle the army of Philip Auguſtus: his name was Guerin, and he had been appointed to the ſee of Senlis. There was alſo at that battle, a biſhop of Beauvais, who had been long kept priſoner by Richard king of England; he uſed a club or mace, ſaying, he ſhould be irregular if he ſhed human blood. It is not known in what manner the emperor and king diſpoſed their troops. Philip, before the battle, ordered his army to ſing the pſalm, *Exurgat Deus, & diſſipentur inimici ejus*, as if Otho had been fighting againſt God: formerly the French ſung verſes in honour of Charlemagne and Orlando. The imperial ſtandard of Otho, fixed in a waggon with four wheels, according to the cuſtom of Germany and Italy, was a long pole ſupporting a wooden dragon painted, and above the dragon was a gilded eagle of wood. The royal ſtandard of France was a gilded ſtaff, with an enſign of white ſilk, powdered with golden flowers de lis; for this ornament called flowers de lis, which was no other than a fancy of the painter, began to be aſſumed as the armorial bearing of the kings of France. The antient crowns of the Lombard kings, of which we have exact prints in Muratori, are ſurmounted with this ornament, which is nothing but the iron head of a lance, bound with two other crooked pieces of iron; this is likewiſe the figure of ſeveral ſceptres of the old Lombard kings.

Beſides the royal ſtandard, Philip Auguſtus brought into the field the oriflame of St. Denis, which was a lance of gilded copper, to which was fixed a red ſilk flag: when the king was in danger, they raiſed or lowered one or other of theſe ſtandards. Every knight had

had likewiſe his own, called a Pendant, and the great knights, who had other knights under them, were provided with another enſign, called a Banner. This term Banner, which is ſo honourable, was nevertheleſs, common to the enſigns of the infantry, which was almoſt wholly compoſed of Serfs, or people lately made free.

The cry of war commonly uſed by the French was *Mon Joïe St. Denis:* they ſaid indifferently *Mon Joïe*, or *Ma Joïe*, in the barbarous jargon of France. The German cry was ſtill *Kyrie eleyſon*.

The Teutonic army, though very ſtrong in infantry, had fewer knights than that of the king. It is to this difference chiefly that we muſt attribute the victory in this great battle. Thoſe ſquadrons of horſe capariſoned with ſteel, carrying men impenetrable to blows, and armed with long lances, could not fail to put in diſorder the German ſoldiery almoſt naked and diſarmed, in compariſon of thoſe moving citadels.

A proof that knights who were well armed, ran no other riſk than that of being diſmounted, and were never wounded except by great accident, is that king Philip Auguſtus thrown from his horſe was for a long time ſurrounded by enemies, and received ſtrokes from all kinds of arms without loſing a drop of blood *. It is even reported that as he lay upon the ground, a German ſoldier attempted to thruſt a bearded javelin into his throat, but never could penetrate. No knight was killed in the battle, except William *de long Champs*, who unluckily died of a thruſt in the eye, which he received thro' the viſor of his helmet.

They reckon on the ſide of the Germans, five and twenty knights bannerets, and ſeven counts of the empire priſoners, but not one wounded; the real danger at that time fell upon the light horſe, and eſpeci-

* Heiſs ſays, the king of France was wounded in the throat. ——It is diverting enough to ſee M. de Voltaire who exclaims againſt the deſcription of battles, thus diſplaying the glory of France.

ally the infantry of ſhaves or freed men, who endured all the fatigue and peril of the war.

The emperor Otho loſt the battle. Thirty thouſand Germans are ſaid to be killed; a number probably exaggerated. The cuſtom then was to load the priſoners with chains. The counts of Flanders and Bologne were carried to Paris, with ſhackles on their arms and legs. This was a ſettled, tho' barbarous cuſtom. Richard *Cœur de Lion*, king of England, ſaid himſelf, that when he was arreſted in Germany, contrary to the law of nations, they loaded him with as heavy chains as he could poſſibly carry.

With regard to the conſequence, we do not find, that the king of France made any conqueſt on the ſide of Germany after this victory at Bovines: but he by this ſucceſs acquired much more authority over his vaſſals.

Philip Auguſtus ſends to Frederic in Swiſſerland, whither he had retired, the imperial car that bore the German Eagle; this was a trophy and a pledge of the empire.

FREDERIC II.

Twenty-sixth Emperor.

OTHO being vanquiſhed, and totally abandoned, retires to Brunſwick, where he is left in peace, becauſe he is no longer formidable. He is not
1214. depoſed, but forgot. He is ſaid to have become a devotee: the reſource of the unhappy, and the paſſion of weak minds. His penance is ſaid to have conſiſted in his being thrown down and kicked by his kitchen-boys, as if the kicks of a turnſpit could expiate the faults of a prince.

Frederic II. emperor, in conſequence of the victory at Bonvines, is every where acknowledg-
1215. ed.

During

During the troubles of Germany, we have ſeen that the Danes conquered a great deal of territory to the northward and eaſtward of the Elbe. Frederic II. began by abandoning theſe lands by treaty, in which Hamburg is comprehended. But, as a diſadvantageous treaty is renounced upon the firſt opportunity, he takes advantage of a quarrel btween Otho's brother count Palatine of the Rhine and the Danes, receives Hamburg into his protection, and afterwards reſtores it. A ſhameful beginning of an illuſtrious reign.

The ſecond coronation of the emperor at Aix-la-chapelle. He diſpoſſeſſes the count Palatine, and the Palatinate reverts to the houſe of Bavaria Witelſbach.

A new cruſade. The emperor takes the croſs. He muſt certainly have ſtill doubted his own power, ſeeing he promiſed to pope Innocent III. that he would never reunite Naples and Sicily to the empire, but give them to his ſon as ſoon as he ſhould be conſecrated at Rome.

Frederic II. remains in Germany with his croſs, and entertains more deſigns upon Italy than upon Paleſtine. In vain the cruſade is preached to 1216.
all the kings. At this time no prince ſet out but Andrew II. king of Hungary. That people, who were ſcarcely Chriſtians, take the croſs againſt the Muſſulmans, whom they call infidels.

The German cruſards depart, nevertheleſs, under various chiefs by ſea and land. The fleet of 1217.
the Low Countries being detained by contrary winds, affords the cruſards another opportunity of employing their arms uſefully in Spain. They join the Portugueſe, and defeat the Moors. That victory might have been purſued, and Spain wholly delivered, but pope Honorius III. the ſucceſſor of Innocent, will not allow it. The Popes commanded the cruſards as the ſoldiers of God, yet they could ſend them no where but to the Eaſt. Men muſt be ruled according to their prejudices, and thoſe ſoldiers of the popes would not have obeyed them elſewhere.

Frederic II. had great reaſon to poſtpone his voyage.

1218. The towns of Italy and Milan, in particular, refuſed to acknowledge a ſovereign, who, being maſter of Germany and the two Sicilies, was powerful enough to enſlave all Italy. They ſtill held for Otho IV. who lived obſcurely in a corner of Germany. Acknowledging him for emperor, was in fact declaring themſelves entirely free.

Otho dies near Brunſwick, and Lombardy has no longer a pretext.

A great diet at Frankfort, where Frederic II. cauſes

1219. his ſon Henry, a child of nine years, by Conſtance of Arragon, to be elected king of the Romans. All thoſe diets were held in the open field, as they are ſtill in Poland.

The emperor renounces his right to the moveables of deceaſed biſhops, and to the revenues of vacant ſees. This is what the French call *la Regale*. He renounces the right of juriſdiction in epiſcopal towns, where the emperor ſhall happen to be, unleſs he there keeps his court. Almoſt all the firſt acts of this prince are renunciations.

He goes to Italy in queſt of that empire which Fre-

1220. deric Barbaroſſa had not been able to obtain. Milan at firſt ſhuts her gates, as to the grandſon of Barbaroſſa, whoſe memory the Milaneſe deteſted. He pockets the affront, and goes to be crowned at Rome. Honorius III. at firſt demands, that the emperor will confirm him in the poſſeſſion of ſeveral territories of the counteſs Mathilda. To theſe Frederic adds the territory of Fondi. The pope deſires him to renew his oath to go to the Holy Land; the emperor renews that oath, after which he is crowned with all the ceremonies, whether humble or humbling, of his predeceſſor. He likewiſe ſignalizes his coronation by bloody edicts againſt heretics. Not that hereſy was then known in Germany, where ignorance reigned, with courage and diſorder: but the inquiſition had been eſtabliſhed on account of the Albigenſes; and the emperor, to pleaſe the Pope, iſſued thoſe cruel edicts,

by

by which the children of heretics are excluded from the ſucceſſion of their fathers.

Theſe laws, confirmed by the Pope, were viſibly dictated in order to juſtify the ſeizure of the eſtates taken by the church, and by force of arms, from the houſe of Toulouſe in the war of the Albigenſes. The counts of Toulouſe had a great many fiefs of the empire. Frederic was abſolutely reſolved to pleaſe the Pope. Such laws were neither of a piece with his age or character. Could they poſſibly have been ſuggeſted by his chancellor Peter de Vineis, who is accuſed of having written the pretended book of the three impoſtors*, or at leaſt of having harboured the opinion which the title of the book implies?

During theſe years Frederic did things more worthy of remembrance. He embelliſhes and aggrandizes Naples, makes it the metropolis of the kingdom, and in a little time it becomes the moſt populous town in Italy. There was ſtill a number of Saracens in Sicily, and they frequently had recourſe to arms: he tranſports them to Lucera in Apulia; hence that town acquired the name of *Lucera* or *Nocera de Pagani*. 1221, 1222, 1223, 1224.

The academy or univerſity of Naples is eſtabliſhed, and flouriſhes. There the law is taught, and the Lombard laws gradually give way to the Roman law.

The deſign of Frederic II. ſeems to have been to reſide in Italy. One is attached to one's native country. his was already embelliſhed; and that the moſt delightful country of Europe. He ſpends fifteen years without going to Germany. Why ſhould he have ſo much flattered the Popes, and reſpected the towns of Italy, if he had not conceived the idea of eſtabliſhing at laſt the ſeat of the empire at Rome? was not that the only way of extricating himſelf from that equivocal ſituation in which all the emperors reigned? a ſituation become ſtill more perplexing, ſince the emperor was at once king of Naples, and vaſſal of the holy ſee, and had promiſed

* Namely, Moſes, Chriſt, and Mahomet.

promiſed to diſmember Naples and Sicily from the empire. All this confuſion would have been at laſt unravelled, had the emperor been maſter of Italy; but deſtiny otherwiſe ordained.

It likewiſe appears that the Pope's great deſign was to rid his hands of Frederic, by ſending him to the Holy Land. In order to accompliſh this deſign, he had, after the death of Conſtance of Arragon, perſuaded him to marry one of the pretended heireſſes of the kingdom of Jeruſalem, which had been long loſt. John of Brienne, who aſſumed the empty title of king of Jeruſalem, founded on his mother's claim, gave his daughter Jolanda or Violante in marriage to Frederic, with Jeruſalem as her dower; in other words, almoſt nothing at all: and Frederic married her becauſe ſhe was handſome, and he choſe to pleaſe the Pope. Since that time, the kings of Sicily have always taken the title of king of Jeruſalem. Frederic was in no hurry to go and conquer his wife's portion, which conſiſted only of a claim to a ſmall maritime territory, ſtill poſſeſſed by the Chriſtians in Syria.

During the preceding, and in the following years, young Henry, the emperor's ſon, reſided conſtantly in Germany. A great revolution happens in Denmark, and in all the provinces that border on the Baltic. The Daniſh king Waldemar had made himſelf maſter of thoſe provinces which were inhabited by the weſtern Slaves and the Vandals. From Hamburg to Dantzic, and from Dantzic to Revel, the whole country acknowledged Waldemar.

1225.

A count of Schwerin in Mecklenburg, who had become vaſſal to that king, forms the deſign of carrying off Waldemar, and the hereditary prince his ſon: and this deſign he executes at a hunting-match, May 23, 1223.

The king of Denmark being priſoner, implores the aſſiſtance of pope Honorius III. who commands the count of Schwerin, and the other German lords who were concerned in this enterprize, to ſet the king and his ſon at liberty. The popes pretended to have beſtowed the crown of Denmark, as well as thoſe of Poland and Bohemia.

Bohemia. The emperors likewiſe pretended to have beſtowed it. The popes and emperors, who were not maſter of Rome, always diſputed the right of making kings at the extremity of Europe. They paid no regard to the command of Honorius. The knights of the Teutonic order join the biſhop of Riga in Livonia, and make themſelves maſters of that part of the coaſt of the Baltic.

Lubeck and Hamburg re-enjoy their liberty and rights. Waldemar and his ſon, after having been ſtripped of almoſt all they had in that country, are ſet at liberty, in conſequence of giving a large ranſom.

Here we find a new power inſenſibly eſtabliſhed: that is, the Teutonic order, which has already a grand maſter, together with fiefs in Germany, and conquers territories lying upon the Baltic.

This grand maſter of the Teutonic order ſolicits in Germany new ſuccours for Paleſtine. Pope Honorius preſſes the emperor to leave Italy 1226. as ſoon as poſſible, and go and accompliſh his vow in Syria. It muſt be obſerved, that there was at this time a truce of nine years ſubſiſting between the ſultan of Ægypt and the cruſards. Frederic II. therefore had no vow to accompliſh. He promiſes to maintain knights in Paleſtine, and is not excommunicated. He ought to have eſtabliſhed himſelf in Lombardy, and afterwards in Rome, rather than in Paleſtine. The Lombard towns had time to enter into an aſſociation; they were called the confederate towns; Milan and Bologna were at their head, and they were no longer conſidered as ſubjects, but as vaſſals of the empire. Frederic II. was deſirous of attaching himſelf to them at leaſt; and this was a difficult taſk. He convokes a diet at Cremona, and ſummons all the Italian and German noblemen to attend.

The Pope, fearing the emperor would aſſume too much authority in this diet, involves him in affairs at Naples. He appoints biſhops to five vacant ſees in that kingdom, without conſulting Frederic: he forbids ſeveral towns and noblemen to go to the aſſembly at Cremona;

mona; he ſupports the rights of the aſſociated towns, and makes himſelf defender of the Italic liberty.

A fine triumph for Honorius III. the emperor having put Milan to the ban of the empire, and transferred to Naples the univerſity of Bologna, admits the Pope as judge. All the towns ſubmit to his deciſion. The Pope, as umpire between the emperor and Italy, pronounces ſentence: "We decree that the emperor ſhall forget his reſentment againſt all the towns, and we decree that the towns ſhall furniſh and maintain four hundred knights for the aſſiſtance of the Holy Land, during the term of two years." 1227.

This was a declaration worthy at once of a ſovereign and pontiff.

Having determined in this manner between Italy and the emperor, he ſits as judge of Waldemar king of Denmark, who had taken an oath to pay the reſt of his ranſom to the German lords, and ſworn that he would never retake what he had yielded. The Pope abſolves him of an oath taken in priſon and upon compulſion. Waldemar re-enters Holſtein, but is defeated. His nephew, the lord of Lunenburg and Brunſwick, who fights for him, is taken priſoner; nor is he releaſed until he hath yielded up ſome territories. All theſe expeditions are ſtill civil wars. Germany is for ſome time quiet.

Honorius III. dying, and Gregory IX. brother of Innocent III. ſucceeding, the politics of the pontificate continued the ſame; but the humour of the new pontiff was more haughty: he haſtens the cruſade, and preſſes the ſo often promiſed departure of Frederic II. He thought he muſt ſend that prince to Jeruſalem, in order to prevent his coming to Rome. This ſpirit of the times made people look upon that prince's vow as an indiſpenſible duty. Upon the firſt delay of the emperor, he is excommunicated by the Pope. Frederic ſtill diſſembles his reſentment, excuſes himſelf, prepares his fleet, and exacts of each fief of Sicily and Naples eight ounces of gold for his voyage: even the eccleſiaſtics ſupply him with money, notwithſtanding the prohibition of the Pope. At 1228.

length

length he embarks at Brindiſi, though his excommunication is not taken off.

What ſtep does Gregory IX. take while the emperor goes to the Holy Land? He takes advantage of that prince's having neglected his abſolution, or rather of his contempt for the excommunication; and joins with the Milaneſe, and the other confederate towns, in order to wreſt from him the kingdom of Naples, which he was afraid would be incorporated with the empire. 1229.

Renaldo duke of Spoleto, and vicar of the kingdom, takes the marche of Ancona from the Pope: then his Holineſs preaches a cruſade in Italy, even againſt Frederic II. whom he had ſent upon a cruſade to the Holy Land.

He ſends an order to the titular patriarch of Jeruſalem, reſiding at Ptolemais, not to acknowledge the emperor.

Frederic, ſtill diſſembling, concludes with Meleſcala, whom we call Meledin, ſultan of Egypt and maſter of Syria, a treaty by which the aim of his cruſade ſeems to have been fulfilled. The ſultan cedes Jeruſalem to him, with ſome ſmall maritime towns of which the Chriſtians were ſtill in poſſeſſion; but upon condition that he ſhall not reſide at Jeruſalem; that the moſques built in thoſe holy places ſhall ſubſiſt; and that there ſhall be always an emir in the city. Frederic is ſuppoſed to have had ſome colluſion with the ſultan, in order to deceive the Pope: he goes to Jeruſalem with a very ſmall eſcorte, and there crowns himſelf; for no prelate would crown a perſon who was excommunicated: he ſoon returns to the kingdom of Naples, where his preſence was much wanted.

He finds in the territory of Capua his brother-in-law, John de Brienne, at the head of the papal cruſade. 1230.

The Pope's cruſards, who were called Guelphs, bore the ſign of the croſs-keys on the ſhoulder; whereas the emperor's cruſards, who were called Ghibelins, wore the croſs. The keys fled before the croſs.

All

All Italy was in combuſtion; and peace, being greatly wanted, was made July 23, at San-Germano. All that the emperor got was abſolution. He conſents, that, for the future, all benefices ſhall be given by election in Sicily; that no clerk, within his two kingdoms, ſhall be brought before a lay-judge; that all eccleſiaſtical eſtates ſhall be exempted from taxes; and, in fine, he gives money to the Pope.

Hitherto Frederic II. who is painted as the moſt dangerous, ſeems to have been the moſt patient of men; but it is pretended that his ſon was ready to rebel in Germany, and that this conſideration made the father ſo flexible in Italy. 1231.

It is very clear that the emperor's ſole deſign in ſtaying ſo long in Italy, was to found a true Roman empire. Maſter as he was in Naples and Sicily, if he had aſſumed the authority of the Othos in Lombardy, he muſt have been maſter alſo in Rome. This was his only crime in the eyes of the popes; and thoſe popes who perſecuted him with ſuch violence, were always regarded by part of Italy as the ſupports of the nation. The party of the Guelphs was that of liberty. In ſuch circumſtances, Frederic ought to have had large treaſures, and a great and well-diſciplined army always on foot. This is what he never had. Otho IV. much leſs powerful than he, had an army of near one hundred and thirty thouſand men in the field againſt the king of France; but he did not keep it in pay, and it was a tranſient effort of vaſſals and allies united for a moment. 1232, 1233, 1234.

Frederic might have cauſed his vaſſals to march from Germany to Italy. Pope Gregory IX. is ſaid to have prevented this ſcheme, by exciting Henry king of the Romans to revolt againſt his father, as Gregory VII. Urban II. and Paſchal II. had armed the children of Henry IV.

The king of the Romans at firſt engages in his party ſeveral towns along the Rhine and the Danube. The duke of Auſtria declares in his favour. Milan, Bologna, and

and other town of Italy, engage in that part againſt the emperor.

Frederic II. at length returns to Germany, after an abſence of fifteen years. The marquis of Baden defeats the rebels. Young Henry comes and throws him-ſelf at his father's feet in the great diet at Mentz. It is in theſe famous diets, theſe parliaments of princes, where the emperors preſide in perſon, that the greateſt affairs of Europe are always treated of with the utmoſt ſolemnity. The emperor in this memorable diet at Mentz, depoſes his ſon Henry king of the Romans; and dreading the fate of Lewis the Weak, ſurnamed The Debonnaire, as well as that of the courageous and too eaſy Henry IV. he condemns his rebellious ſon to perpetual impriſonment: he in that diet ſecures the duchy of Brunſwick to the houſe of Guelph, in whoſe poſſeſſion it ſtill remains: he ſolemnly receives the canon law publiſhed by Gregory IX. and orders the decrees of the empire, for the firſt time, to be publiſhed in the German language, though he himſelf did not love that tongue, but cultivated the romance to which the Italian ſucceeded. 1235.

He gives it in charge to the king of Bohemia, the duke of Bavaria, and ſome biſhops, who were enemies to the duke of Auſtria, to make war upon that duke, as vaſſals of the empire, who maintain its rights againſt rebels. 1236.

He returns to Lombardy, though with a few troops, conſequently can undertake no effectual expedition. Some towns, as Vicenza and Verona, being abandoned to plunder, render him more odious to the Guelphs, without making him more powerful.

He comes to Auſtria, which was defended by the Hungarians: he ſubdues it: founds an univerſity at Vienna; confirms the privileges of ſome imperial towns, ſuch as Ratiſbon and Straſbourg; cauſes his ſon Conrad to be acknowledged king of the Romans, in the room of Henry; and at length, after this ſucceſs in Germany, thinks himſelf ſtrong enough to accompliſh his grand ſcheme of ſubduing Italy. Thi- 1237.

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ther he flies, takes Mantua, and defeats the army of the confederates.

The Pope, who now ſaw him making long ſtrides towards the execution of his great deſign, makes a diverſion by the affairs of the church; and, under pretence that the emperor had cauſed clerks to be tried in lay-courts, excites all Italy againſt him, and the church excites the people.

Frederic II. had a baſtard, called Enzius, whom he had made king of Sardinia; another pretext for the pontiff, who pretended that Sardinia held of the holy ſee. 1238, 1239.

This was ſtill pope Gregory IX. The different names of the popes never make any alteration in the ſtate of affairs; it is always the ſame quarrel and the ſame ſpirit. Gregory IX. ſolemnly excommunicates the emperor twice in Paſſion Week. They write bitterly againſt each other. The Pope accuſes the emperor of having affirmed, that mankind had been deceived by three impoſtors, Moſes, Jeſus Chriſt, and Mahomet. Frederic calls Gregory Antichriſt, Balaam, and the Prince of Darkneſs.

The emperor's patience was at length exhauſted, and he believed himſelf powerful. The Dominicans and Franciſcans, the ſpiritual militia of the pope, lately eſtabliſhed, are expelled from Naples and Sicily. The Benedictines of Monte Caſſini ſhare the ſame fate, no more than eight being left to do duty; and the Pope's letters are forbid to be received in the two kingdoms, on pain of death.

All theſe proceedings tend more and more to inflame the factions of the Guelphs and Ghibelins. Venice and Genoa join the towns of Lombardy. The emperor marches againſt them, and is defeated by the Milaneſe. This is the third ſignal victory, by which the Milaneſe have ſupported their liberty againſt the emperors.

There is now no room to negotiate, as the emperor had alwas done: he augments his troops and marches to Rome, where there was a ſtrong party of Ghibelins. 1240.

Gregory

Gregory IX. expoſes the heads of St. Peter and St. Paul; harangues the people in their name; inflames their minds; and profits by that moment of enthuſiaſm to make a cruſade againſt the emperor.

That prince finding it impracticable to enter Rome, goes and ravages the Beneventine. Such was the power of the popes in Europe; and the name of Cruſade was become ſo ſacred, that the Pope obtains a twentieth of the eccleſiaſtical revenues in France, and a fifth in England, for his cruſade againſt the emperor.

He offers by his legates the imperial crown to Robert d'Artois, brother of St. Lewis: he ſays, in his letter to the king and baronage of France, "We have condemned Frederic, who calls himſelf Emperor, and deprived him of the empire: we have elected, in his room, prince Robert the king's brother, whom we will ſupport with all our power, and by all kinds of means."

This indiſcreet offer was refuſed. Some hiſtorians ſay, in quoting Mathew Paris, the barons of France anſwered, that it was enough for Robert d'Artois to be brother of a king who was above the emperor. They even pretend that the ambaſſadors of Lewis ſaid the ſame thing, in the ſame terms, to Frederic. But it is by no means probable that they would make ſuch an indecent, rude anſwer, ſo little founded on truth, and which could be of no ſignification.

The anſwer of the barons of France, as Matthew Paris relates it, is not more likely. The chief of thoſe barons were all the biſhops of the kingdom. Now is it very probable, that all the barons, and all the biſhops, in the time of St. Lewis, ſhould make this reply to the Pope? *Tantum religionis in Papa non invenimus, qui eum debuit promoviſſe, & Deo militantem protexiſſe, eum conatus eſt abſentem confundere & nequiter ſupplantare.* "We do not find ſo much religion in the Pope, who ought to have promoted and protected him as a ſoldier of God; whereas he hath endeavoured to confound and wickedly ſupplant him in his abſence."

A reader endowed with the leaſt ſhare of common ſenſe, will ſee that a nation in a body could not return ſuch an inſolent anſwer to the Pope, who offered them the

the empire. How could the biſhops write to the Pope, that the unbelieving Frederic II. had more religion than his Holineſs. This particular ſhould teach us to diſtruſt thoſe hiſtorians, who erect their own private notions into public monuments.

About this time the people of Great Tartary threat-
1241. ened the reſt of the world. That vaſt reſervoir of brutal and warlike men had vomited its inundations over almoſt our whole hemiſphere from the fifth century of the Chriſtian æra. Part of thoſe conquerors had come and wreſted Paleſtine from the ſultan of Egypt, and the ſmall number of Chriſtians who ſtill remained in that country. More conſiderable hordes of Tartars under Batou-khan, grandſon of Gengis-khan, had been as far as Poland and Hungary.

The Hungarians, mixed with the Huns, formerly countrymen of thoſe Tartars, had been vanquiſhed by the new-comers. This torrent had ſpread in Dalmatia, and thus extended its ravages from Pekin to the frontiers of Germany. Was this a time for a Pope to excommunicate the emperor, and aſſemble a council to depoſe him?

Gregory IX. convokes that council. One can ſcarce conceive how he could propoſe to the emperor to make a total ceſſion of the empire and all his dominions to the holy ſee, as the only effectual means of a reconciliation. The Pope, nevertheleſs, makes this propoſal. What muſt have been the ſpirit of an age in which theſe propoſals were made?

The eaſtern part of Germany is delivered from the
1242. Tartars, who retreat like wild beaſts after they have ſeized their prey.

Gregory IX. and his ſucceſſor Celeſtin IV. dying almoſt in the ſame year, and the holy ſee having been long vacant, it is ſurpriſing that the emperor ſhould preſs the Romans, even at the head of an army, to elect a new Pope. One would think it was for his intereſt that the chair of his enemies ſhould not be filled; but the motives that influenced the politics of thoſe times are very little known. Certain it is, Frederic II. muſt have been a wiſe prince, ſeeing that in thoſe times of

of trouble Germany and his kingdom of Naples and Sicily were in tranquility.

The cardinals aſſembled at Agnani elect cardinal Fieſque, a Genoeſe of the family of the counts of Lavagna, attached to the emperor, who ſays, "Fieſque was my friend; the Pope will be my enemy." 1243.

Fieſque, known by the name of Innocent IV. does not proceed ſo far as to demand that Frederic II. would yield the empire to him; but he demands the reſtitution of all the towns of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, and of the counteſs Mathilda, and inſiſts upon the emperor's doing homage for Naples and Sicily. 1244.

Innocent IV. upon the emperor's refuſal, aſſembles at Lyons the council ſummoned by Gregory IX. This is the thirteenth general council. 1245.

It may be aſked, why this council was held in an imperial town? This town was protected by France; the archbiſhop was a prince; and in thoſe provinces the emperor had nothing elſe than the vain title of Lord Paramount.

There were but one hundred and forty biſhops at this general council, but it was adorned with the preſence of ſeveral princes, eſpecially of Baldwin de Courtenai, emperor of Conſtantinople, who was placed on the Pope's right hand. That monarch was come to aſk ſuccours, which he did not obtain.

Frederic did not neglect to ſend ambaſſadors for his defence at this council, where he was to be accuſed. Innocent IV. pronounces againſt him two long harangues in the two firſt ſeſſions. A monk of the order of Citeaux, biſhop of Carniola near Garillan, who was expelled from the kingdom of Naples by Frederic, accuſes him in form. There is not now any regular tribunal which would admit of the accuſations alledged by that monk. "The emperor, ſays he, believes neither in God nor in the ſaints." But who had told the monk ſo? "The emperor has ſeveral wives living at one time." But who were thoſe wives? "He carries on a correſpondence with the ſultan of Babylon." But why

may

may not the titular king of Jeruſalem treat with his neighbour? "He is of opinion with Averroes, that Jeſus Chriſt and Mahomet were impoſtors." But in what place has Averroes ſaid ſo much, and how is it proved that the emperor is of his opinion? "He is an heretic." But what is hereſy? and how can he be an heretic, if he is no Chriſtian?

Thadeus Seſſa, Frederic's ambaſſador, anſwers, that this monkiſh biſhop has told a lie, that his maſter is a very good Chriſtian, and does not tolerate ſimony. In theſe words he plainly enough accuſes the court of Rome.

The ambaſſador of England goes farther: "You draw, ſays he, by your Italians, above ſixty thouſand marks a year from the kingdom of England: you tax all our churches; you excommunicate thoſe who complain: we ſhall not long ſuffer ſuch impoſition."

All theſe remonſtrances ſerve only to haſten the Pope's ſentence: "I pronounce, ſays Innocent IV. Frederic convicted of ſacrilege and hereſy, excommunicated, and deprived of the empire. I order the electors to chooſe another emperor; and ſave to myſelf the diſpoſal of the kingdom of Sicily.

After having pronounced this ſentence, he thunders a Te Deum, as it is now performed after a victory.

The emperor was at Turin, which then belonged to the marquis of Suſa. He calls for the imperial crown which the emperors always carried about with them, and ſetting it upon his head, "the pope, ſays he, has not yet deprived me of this; and before he does, there will be a great deal of bloodſhed." He ſends a circular letter to all the Chriſtian princes. "I am not the firſt, ſaid he, whom the clergy have treated in ſuch an unworthy manner, and I ſhall not be the laſt. You are the cauſe of all this, in obeying thoſe hypocrites whoſe boundleſs ambition you know. What a number of infamous practices will you not diſcover at Rome, at which human nature muſt ſhudder? &c.

The pope writes to the duke of Auſtria expelled from
1246. his dominions, to the dukes of Saxony, Bavaria and Brabant, to the archbiſhops of Cologne,

logne, Triers and Mentz, and to the biſhops of Straſbourg and Spire, ordering them to elect for emperor Henry landgrave of Thuringia.

The dukes refuſe to come to the diet convoked at Wurtzbourg, and the biſhops crown their Thuringian, whom they call *the king of prieſts*.

Here are two important circumſtances to be obſerved: firſt, it is plain the electors were not ſeven in number; ſecondly, Conrad, the emperor's ſon, king of the Romans, was comprehended in the excommunication of his father, and diveſted of all his rights as an heretic, according to the law of the popes and that of his own father, who had publiſhed it at a time when he wanted to ingratiate himſelf with the popes.

Conrad ſupports his father's cauſe and his own, he gives battle to the king of the prieſts near Frankfort, but is worſted.

The Landgrave of Thuringia dies in beſieging Ulm, but the imperial ſchiſm does not end.

It was probably in this year, that Frederic II. having but too many enemies, reconciles himſelf to the duke of Auſtria; and in order to attach him to his intereſt, beſtows on him and his deſcendents the title of king, by a patent ſtill preſerved at Vienna. This patent is without a date. It is very ſtrange that the dukes of Auſtria never made uſe of it. In all likelihood the princes of the empire oppoſed this new title beſtowed by an excommunicated emperor, whom one-half of Germany began to renounce.

Innocent IV. offers the empire to ſeveral princes. All refuſe ſo tempeſtuous a dignity. It is accepted by one William count of Holland, a young nobleman twenty years of age. The greateſt part of Germany does not acknowledge him; it is the pope's legate who appoints this emperor at Cologne, and inveſts him with the order of knighthood. 1247.

Two factions are formed in Germany, as violent as thoſe of the Guelphs and Ghibelins in Italy. One ſticks to Frederic and his ſon Conrad; the other adheres to the new king William. This is what the pope wanted. William is crowned at Aix-la-chapelle 1248.

chapelle by the archbiſhop of Cologne. The feſtivals that attended this coronation are bloodſhed on every hand, and towns reduced to aſhes.

The emperor is now no more in Italy, than the chief of a faction in a civil war. His ſon
1249. Enzio whom we call Enzius, is defeated by the Poles, falls into their hands as a priſoner, and his father cannot obtain his liberty even for money.

Another fatal adventure diſturbs the laſt days of Frederic II. provided the adventure be ſuch as is related. His famous chancellor Peter de Vineis, or rather de la Vigna, his counſellor, his oracle, and friend of thirty years ſtanding, reſtorer of the laws in Italy, is ſaid to have attempted to poiſon him by the hands of his phyſician. Hiſtorians differ about the year of this event, and that difference may create ſome ſuſpicion. Is it credible that the firſt magiſtrate in Europe, a venerable old man, ſhould hatch ſuch an abominable treaſon? and for what reaſon? to pleaſe the pope, who was his enemy. Where could he hope for a more conſiderable fortune? what better poſt could the phyſician have than that of being phyſician to the emperor?

Certain it is, Peter de Vineis had his eyes put out. This is not the puniſhment of one who poiſons his maſter. Several Italian authors pretend that a court intrigue was the cauſe of his diſgrace, and provoked Frederic II. to this cruelty; and the account is very probable.

Mean-while Frederic makes another effort in Lom-
bardy; he even orders ſome troops to paſs
1250. the Alps, and alarms the pope, who was ſtill at Lyons, under the protection of St. Lewis; for that king of France, while he blamed the exceſſes of the pope, reſpected his perſon and his council.

This was Frederic's laſt expedition.

He dies Dec. 17. Some believe he felt remorſe for the treatment he had given to Peter de
1251. Vineis; but it appears by his will, that he repented of nothing he had done. His life and death make a very important æra in hiſtory. Of all the emperors

perors he was the man who endeavoured moſt to eſtabliſh the empire in Italy, and who ſucceeded leaſt, poſſeſſing all the requiſites for ſucceſs.

The Popes, who would have no maſters, and the towns of Lombardy, which ſo often defended their liberty againſt a maſter, prevented the poſſibility of there being a Roman emperor.

Sicily, but eſpecially Naples, was his favourite kingdom: he increaſed and embelliſhed Naples and Capua, built Alitea, Monte Leone, Flagella, Dondona, Aquila and ſeveral other towns; founded univerſities and cultivated the liberal arts in thoſe climates where the fruit ſeems to come ſpontaneous; and one circumſtan e, that endeared his native country to him, was, that he himſelf was the legiſlator of it. In ſpite of his underſtanding, courage, application and labours, he was very unfortunate; and his death produced ſtill greater misfortunes.

CONRAD IV.

Twenty-seventh Emperor.

CONRAD IV. ſon of Frederic II. has a better title to be ranked among the emperors, than thoſe who are placed between the deſcendents of Charlemagne and the Othos. He had been twice crowned king of the Romans: he ſucceeded a reſpectable father; and William count of Holland, his competitor, who was likewiſe called the King of the Prieſts, as well as the Landgrave of Thuringia, had no other right than the Pope's order and the ſuffrages of ſome biſhops.

Conrad at firſt ſuffers a defeat near Oppenheim, but ſtill ſupports himſelf: he forces his competitor to quit Germany: he goes to Lyons to viſit pope Innocent IV. who confirms him king of the Romans, and promiſes to give him the imperial crown at Rome.

It was become uſual to preach cruſades againſt Chriſtian princes. The Pope ordered one to be preached in Germany againſt the emperor Conrad, and another in Italy, againſt Manfredo or Mainfroy, natural ſon of Frederic II. at that time faithful to his brother and the laſt will of his father.

This Mainfroy, prince of Tarentum, governed Naples and Sicily in the name of Conrad. The Pope cauſed Naples and Mantua to revolt againſt him: Conrad marches thither, and ſeems to abandon Germany to his rival William, that he might go and ſecond his brother Mainfroy againſt the cruſards of the Pope.

During that time, William of Holland eſtabliſhes himſelf in Germany. We may here obſerve
1252. an adventure, which proves how long all rights continued uncertain, and all limits confounded. A counteſs of Flanders and Hainault, is at war with John Davennes her ſon by a former marriage, for the right of ſucceſſion of that very ſon to his mother's lands. St. Lewis is choſen arbitrator: he adjudges Hainault to Davennes, and Flanders to the ſon of the ſecond marriage. John Davennes ſays to king Lewis, "You give me Hainault which does not depend upon you, it holds of the biſhop of Liege, and is an under fief of the empire; Flanders really holds of you, and you with-hold it from me."

It was not then decided, of what prince Hainault held: Flanders was another problem. All the country of Aloſt was a fief of the empire, as well as all that bordered upon the Scheld: but the reſt of Flanders from Ghent, held of the kings of France. Mean while William, as king of Germany, puts the counteſs to the ban of the empire, and confiſcates all her eſtate for the advantage of John Davennes, in the year 1252. This affair was at laſt accommodated; but it ſhews what inconveniences attend the feodal right. It was ſtill worſe in Italy, eſpecially for the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily.

Theſe years, which, as well as the following, are called the years of interregnum, though pro-
1253, 1254. ductive of confuſion and anarchy, are nevertheleſs worthy of conſideration.

The

The houſe of Morienne and Savoy, which eſpouſes the party of William, receives from him the inveſtiture of Turin, Montcalier, Jurea, and ſeveral fiefs, which make it a very powerful family.

In Germany the towns of Frankfort, Mentz, Cologne, Worms and Spire, aſſociate together for the benefit of trade, and to defend themſelves from the country gentlemen, who were ſo many robbers. This union of the towns upon the Rhine, was not ſo much an imitation of the confederacy of the towns of Lombardy, as of the firſt hans-towns, Lubec, Hamburgh and Brunſwic.

In a little time, the greateſt part of the towns of Germany and Flanders, engage in the Hans: the principal object is to maintain veſſels and barks at the common expence for the ſecurity of commerce. A bill of one of theſe towns paſſes current in all the reſt: the confidence of trade is eſtabliſhed. Merchants by means of this alliance do more ſervice to ſociety, than ever was done by ſo many emperors and Popes.

The city of Lubec alone is already ſo powerful, that in a civil war which was kindled in Denmark, it equips a fleet at its own expence.

While the trading towns procure theſe temporal advantages, the knights of the Teutonic order reſolve to procure that of Chriſtianity to the reſt of the Vandals, who lived in Pruſſia and the neighbourhood. Ottocarus II. king of Bohemia, takes the croſs with them: all the kings of Bohemia took the name of Ottocarus, ſince they had eſpouſed the party of Otho IV. They defeat the Pagans, and the two Pruſſian chiefs receive baptiſm: Ottocarus rebuilds Konigſberg.

Other ſcenes open in Italy. The Pope ſtill maintains the war, and inſiſts upon diſpoſing of Naples and Sicily. But he cannot recover his own demeſnes, nor thoſe of the counteſs Mathilda. We always ſee the Popes powerful abroad, in conſequence of the excommunications, which they thunder forth, and the diviſions they foment, but very impotent in Italy, and eſpecially in Rome.

The factions of the Ghibelins and the Guelphs divided and desolated Italy: they had begun from the quarrels between the Popes and the emperors; these names had been every where a word of banter in the time of Frederic II. Those who pretend to acquire fiefs and titles which were bestowed by the emperors, declared themselves Ghibelins. The Guelphs seemed more the partizans of the Italic liberty: the Guelph party at Rome was indeed for the Pope, when the business was to unite against the emperor; but the same party opposed the Pope, when the Pontiff, freed from a master, wanted to become master himself in his turn. These factions were again subdivided into several different parties, and served to nourish discord in towns and families. Some old captains of Frederic II. employed these names of faction, which inflamed the minds of men, to enlist people under their colours, and cloked their robberies with the pretext of supporting the rights of the empire. Robbers of another gang pretended to serve the Pope, who gave them no such commission, and ravaged Italy in his name. Among those robbers who rendered themselves famous, there was a partizan of Frederic II. called Ezzelino *, who had well nigh established a great dominion, and entirely changed the face of affairs; he is still famous for the ravages he committed; booty enabled him to raise an army, and had he been always favoured by fortune, he must have become a conqueror: but at last he was taken in an ambuscade, and Rome which dreaded him was delivered of her fear: the Guelph and Ghibeline factions were not extinguished in him; they subsisted for a long time, and were very violent, even while Germany was without a real emperor, during the interregnum that succeeded Conrad's death, and could no longer serve as

* Or Eccelino de Onara: he obtained many victories for the emperor, and afterwards set up for himself. He reduced Verona and Padua, and several other cities, where he reigned with such cruel despotism, that the people believed he was engendered by the Devil. The Pope preached up a Crusade against him, and being taken in an ambuscade, he was conveyed to Soncino, where he died distracted, after having triumphed above forty years.

as a pretext for theſe troubles. A Pope in theſe circumſtances had a very difficult place to fill: obliged as a biſhop to preach peace in the midſt of war, being at the head of the Roman government, without power to attain abſolute authority, under the neceſſity of defending himſelf againſt the Ghibelins, and of managing the Guelphs, and above all things, in fear of an imperial houſe that poſſeſſes Naples and Sicily; every part of his ſituation was precarious. The Popes, ſince Gregory VII. had always this in common with the emperors; the title of maſters of the world, and a power that was very circumſcribed. And if we attentively conſider the ſubject we ſhall ſee, that from the very firſt ſucceſſors of Charlemagne, the empire and the church are two problems of very difficult ſolution.

Conrad ſends for one of his brothers, to whom Frederic II. had given the duchy of Auſtria; this young prince dies, and is ſuſpected of having been poiſoned by Conrad; for at this time, the death of every prince who did not die of old age, was imputed to poiſon. Conrad IV. dies ſoon after, and Mainfroy is accuſed of having diſpatched him by the ſame means.

The emperor Conrad IV. who died in the flower of his age, left a child, that unhappy Conradin, of whom Mainfroy becomes the guardian: pope Innocent IV. perſecutes, in this infant, the memory of his fathers. Finding he cannot make himſelf maſter of the kingdom of Naples, he offers it to the king of England; he offers it to a brother of St. Lewis, but he dies in the midſt of his proſpects, even in the city of Naples, which his party had conquered. By the laſt enterprizes of Innocent IV. one would think he was a warrior; no ſuch matter, he was counted a profound divine.

After the death of Conrad IV. the laſt emperor, though not the laſt prince, of the houſe of Suabia, it was probable that young William of Holland, who began to reign in Germany, without oppoſition, would raiſe a new imperial houſe. That feodal right, which hath produced ſo many diſputes and ſo many wars, induces him to arm againſt the Frieſlanders. It was pretended that they were vaſſals of the 1255.

counts of Holland, and under-vaſſals of the empire. He marches againſt them, and is ſlain about the latter end of 1255, or beginning of the following year; and this is the æra of the great anarchy of Germany.

The ſame anarchy prevails in Rome, Lombardy, and the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily.

The Guelphs had been expelled from Naples by Mainfroy. The new pope Alexander IV. though but indifferently eſtabliſhed in Rome, reſolves like his predeceſſor, to wreſt Naples and Sicily from the excommunicated houſe of Suabia, and ſtrip at once young Conradin to whom the kingdom belonged, and Mainfroy who was his guardian.

Who could believe that Alexander cauſes a cruſade to be preached in England againſt Conradin? and that in offering the dominions of the infant to Henry III. king of England *, he borrows, even in the name of that Engliſh king, money enough to raiſe an army for himſelf: what conduct is this for a Pontiff to ſtrip an orphan? a legate of the Pope commands this army, which is ſaid to have amounted to near fifty thouſand men: the Pope's army is defeated and deſpiſed.

Let us moreover obſerve, that pope Alexander IV. who believed himſelf ſtrong enough to conquer two kingdoms, though at the gates of Rome, dares not enter, but retires to Viterbo. Rome always reſembled thoſe imperial towns which diſpute the rights of regality with their archbiſhops; as Cologne, for example, the municipal government of which is independent of the

* He ſent his nuncio Albert into England, with an offer of the crown of Sicily to Richard earl of Cornwal, the king's brother, who declined the propoſal of engaging in an expenſive war againſt Conrad, who was his own nephew: his brother Henry was not ſo ſcrupulous. The ſame ſcheme being offered to his conſideration, in favour of his ſecond ſon Edmund, he ſubmitted to all the conditions impoſed by the pope, engaged himſelf and his realm for unlimited ſums, ſupplied him with all the money in his own exchequer, as well as with what he could extort from the Jews, who were miſerably oppreſſed, together with large ſums borrowed of his brother Richard, and the Italian merchants, at exorbitant intereſt.

the elector. Rome continued in this precarious ſituation till the time of Alexander VI.

In Germany it is reſolved to make an emperor. The German princes then thought as the Poliſh Palatines of theſe days. They would not have a king from among their own countrymen. One faction chooſes Alphonſus X. king of Caſtile; another elects Richard, brother of Henry III. king of England. Theſe two ſend ſeverally to the Pope, deſiring their election might be confirmed: the Pope will confirm neither. Richard mean while goes to Aix-la-chapelle, where he is crowned May 17, 1257, without, however, being more obeyed in Germany on account of that ceremony. 1256, 1257, 1258.

Alphonſus of Caſtile acts as ſovereign of Germany at Toledo. Frederic III. duke of Lorrain, goes thither, and receives on his knees the inveſtiture of his duchy, together with the dignity of great Seneſchal of the emperor, on the banks of the Rhine, and the right of laying the firſt diſh on the imperial table in plenary courts.

All the hiſtorians of Germany, as the more modern, ſay, that Richard never appeared again in the empire. But this was becauſe they were not acquainted with the Chronicle of England, wrote by Thomas Wik. That chronicle gives us to underſtand that Richard went three times to Germany, where he exerciſed the rights of emperor on more than one occaſion; that in 1263, he gave the inveſtiture of Auſtria and Stiria to one Ottocarus king of Bohemia; and that in 1269, he married the daughter of a baron called Falkemorit, with whom he returned to London. That long interregnum, then ſo much talked of did not really ſubſiſt: altho' theſe years may be called an interregnum, becauſe Richard was ſeldom in Germany*. In thoſe times we find nothing in Germany but petty wars between petty ſovereigns.

* Richard's elevation to the imperial throne is ſaid to have coſt him ſeven hundred thouſand pounds ſterling; a ſum altogether incredible.

Young Conradin was then educated in Bavaria, with his couſin the titular duke of Auſtria, of the old branch of Auſtria, which is now extinct. Mainfroy, more ambitious than loyal, tired of being regent, cauſes himſelf to be proclaimed king of Naples and Sicily. 1259.

Thus he furniſhed the Pope with a juſt handle for ſeeking his deſtruction. Alexander IV. as pontiff, had a right to excommunicate a perjured perſon, and, as lord paramount of Naples, to puniſh an uſurper. But he had no title, either as pope or paramount, to deprive the young and innocent Conradin of his inheritance.

Mainfroy, who believes himſelf firmly eſtabliſhed, treats the Pope's excommunications and enterprizes with contempt.

Erzelin, another tyrant, lays waſte the countries of Lombardy, which adhere to the Guelphs and the pontiffs. At laſt he is wounded in a battle againſt the Cremoneſe, and the earth is delivered from his ravages.

While Germany is either quite deſolate, or languiſhes in anarchy; while Italy is divided into factions; England involved in civil wars; and St. Lewis, redeemed from captivity in Egypt, meditates another cruſade, which was more unfortunate, if poſſible, than the firſt; the holy ſee ſtill perſeveres in the deſign of wreſting Naples and Sicily from Mainfroy, and of ſtriping at once the guilty guardian and the innocent orphan. From 1260 to 1266.

Whatever pope ſits on St. Peter's chair, it is ſtill the ſame genius, and the ſame medly of greatneſs and impotence. The Romans will neither acknowledge the temporal authority of the Pope, nor be ruled by emperors. The Popes are ſcarce endured in Rome, and yet they beſtow and take away kingdoms. Rome at that time choſe one ſenator only, as protector of her liberty. Mainfroy, his ſon-in-law Peter of Arragon, and Charles duke of Anjou, brother of St. Lewis, all three caballed for this dignity, which was that of Patrician, under another name.

Urban IV. the new pontiff, offers Naples and Sicily to

to Charles of Anjou, but he does not chooſe to ſee him ſenator; becauſe then he would be too powerful.

He promiſes that St. Lewis ſhould equip the duke of Anjou with an armament for the conqueſt of the kingdom of Naples. St. Lewis heſitates. It was plainly a propoſal to rob a ward of an inheritance derived from ſo many anceſtors, who had conquered thoſe dominions from the Muſſulmans. The Pope quiets his ſcruples. Charles of Anjou accepts the donation from the Pope, and cauſes himſelf to be elected ſenator of Rome, in deſpite of the Pope.

Urban IV. being now too far engaged to retract, makes Charles of Anjou promiſe that he will in five years renounce the title of ſenator. And as that prince was obliged to take an oath to the Romans for his whole life, the Pope reconciles theſe two oaths, and abſolves him of the one, provided he will take the other.

He likewiſe obliges him to ſwear in the hands of his legate, that he never will poſſeſs the empire, together with the crown of Sicily. This was the law of the popes his predeceſſors; and this law ſhews how much they had been afraid of Frederic II.

The count of Anjou, above all things, promiſes to aſſiſt the holy ſee in recovering the patrimony which had been uſurped by a number of noblemen, together with the lands of the counteſs Mathilda. He engages to pay eight thouſand ounces of gold, as a yearly tribute; conſenting to be excommunicated if ever that payment is delayed two months: he ſwears to aboliſh all the rights which the French conquerors, and the princes of the houſe of Suabia, had enjoyed over eccleſiaſtics, and in ſo doing renounces the ſingular prerogative of Sicily.

On theſe, and a great number of other conditions, he embarks at Marſeilles, with thirty gallies, and goes to Rome in June 1265, to receive the inveſtiture of Naples and Sicily, which he had bought ſo dear.

A battle fought in the plains of Beneventum, February 26, 1266, decides the whole diſpute. There Mainfroy is ſlain, and his wife, children, and treaſures, fall into the hands of the victor.

The pope's legate, who was in the army, deprives Mainfroy's body of Chriſtian burial; a revenge both cowardly and ill-timed; which ſerved only to irritate the minds of men.

Charles of Anjou no ſooner mounts the throne of Sicily, than he is dreaded by the Pope, and hated by his ſubjects. Conſpiracies are formed againſt him. The Ghibelins who divided Italy, ſend to Bavaria to ſolicit young Conradin to come and take the inheritance of his fathers. Clement IV. ſucceſſor of Urban, forbids him to come to Italy, as a ſovereign tranſmits his order to his ſubject.

1267, 1268.

Conradin, at the age of ſixteen, ſets out with his uncle the duke of Bavaria, the count of Tirol, whoſe daughter he had married, and particularly with his couſin, the young duke of Auſtria, who was no more maſter in Auſtria than Conradin was in Naples. Excommunications are not wanting. Clement IV. that he might oppoſe him the more effectually, appoints Charles of Anjou imperial vicar in Tuſcany. That illuſtrious province, which had recovered its liberty by its own ſpirit and courage, which divided into Guelphs and Ghibelins, and by this appointment the Guelphs aſſumed all the authority.

Charles of Anjou, ſenator of Rome, and chief of Tuſcany, becomes ſtill more formidable to the Pope. But Conradin would have been more ſo.

The hearts of all men were inclined to Conradin, and by a very ſingular deſtiny the Romans and Muſſulmans declared for him at the ſame time. On one hand, the infant Henry, brother of Alphonſus X. king of Caſtile, a true knight-errant, goes to Italy, and there cauſes himſelf to be declared ſenator of Rome, in order to ſupport the rights of Conradin; on the other hand, a king of Tunis lends them money and gallies, and all the Saracens, who remain in the kingdom of Naples, take arms in his favour.

Conradin is received as emperor in the capital of Rome. His gallies anchor on the coaſt of Sicily, and there his troops are joyfully received by almoſt the whole nation. He marches from one ſucceſs to another,

as

as far as Aquila in the Abruzo. The French knights, inured to war, entirely defeat, in a pitched battle, the army of Conradin, compoſed in a hurry of different nations.

Conradin, the duke of Auſtria, and Henry of Caſtile, are made priſoners.

The hiſtorians Villani, Guadelfiero, and Fazelli, affirm that pope Clement IV. demanded of Charles of Anjou the death of Conradin. It was his laſt requeſt, and he died ſoon after. Charles orders the ſentence of death to be pronounced upon the two princes, by Robert de Bari, his prothonotary. He ſends Henry of Caſtile priſoner to provence, which belonged to him in right of his wife.

On the 26th day of Octobe 1268, Conradin and Frederic of Auſtria are executed in the market-place of Naples, by the hand of the hangman. This is the firſt example of ſuch an outrage againſt crowned heads. Conradin, before he received the ſtroke, threw his glove among the crowd, and begged that ſomebody would carry it to his couſin Peter of Arragon, Mainfroy's ſon-in-law, who would one day revenge his death. The glove was taken up by the chevalier Truchſes de Walbourg, who actually fulfilled his deſire. Since that time the houſe of Walbourg bears the arms of Conradin, which are thoſe of Suabia. The young duke of Auſtria being firſt executed, Conradin, who loved him tenderly, took up his head, which he was kiſſing when he received the fatal ſtroke.

Several noblemen were beheaded on the ſame ſcaffold. Some time after, Charles of Anjou ordered Mainfroy's widow and his remaining ſon to be put to death in priſon. What is very ſurprizing, we do not find that St. Lewis, who was brother of this Charles of Anjou, ever in the leaſt reproached the barbarian for his horrible cruelty. On the contrary, it was partly in favour of Charles that he undertook this laſt unfortunate cruſade againſt the king of Tunis, who was Conradin's protector.

The petty wars ſtill continued between the noble-

men

men of Germany. Rodolphus, count of Habſbourg in Swiſſerland, had already ſignalized himſelf in theſe wars, and eſpecially in that which he ſupported againſt the biſhop of Baſil, in favour of the abbot St. Gal. About this time began the treaties of hereditary confraternity between the German houſes. This is a mutual deed of the lands of one houſe to another, in caſe of ſurvivorſhip in the male line.

1269, 1270, 1271, 1272.

The firſt of theſe treaties had been made in the laſt years of Frederic II. between the houſes of Saxony and Heſſe.

The Hans-towns, during this period, augment their privileges and power. They eſtabliſh conſuls in all affairs of trade. For to what other tribunal could they at that time have had recourſe?

The ſame neceſſity which inſpired the invention of conſuls in the trading towns, was the occaſion of inſtituting Auſtregues for other towns and noblemen, who had no mind to decide their differences by the ſword. Theſe Auſtregues are either from the nobility or from the towns themſelves, choſen as umpires to determine without the expence of a law-ſuit. Theſe two eſtabliſhments, ſo lucky and ſo wiſe, were the fruits of the unfortunate times, which obliged people to have recourſe to ſuch expedients.

Germany ſtill remained without a chief, but was reſolved to have one at laſt.

Richard of England was dead. Alphonſus of Caſtile had now no party. Ottocarus III. king of Bohemia, duke of Auſtria and Stiria, was propoſed, and is ſaid to have refuſed the empire. He was then at war with Bela king of Hungary, who diſputed with him Stiria, Carinthia and Carniola. He might have conteſted Stiria, which depended upon Auſtria, but not Carinthia and Carniola, which he had actually purchaſed.

Peace is concluded. Stiria, Carinthia, and Carniola, remain in the poſſeſſion of Ottocarus. We cannot conceive how he who was ſo powerful ſhould refuſe the empire: he who afterwards refuſed homage to the emperor. It is much more likely that they would not have

have him for emperor, for that very reaſon, becauſe he was too powerful.

RODOLPHUS I. OF HAPSBOURG.

Firſt Emperor of the Houſe of Auſtria.

TWENTY-EIGHTH EMPEROR.

AT length they aſſemble at Frankfort to elect an emperor, in conſequence of letters from pope Gregory X. who threatens to appoint one. This was a new circumſtance, that a pope ſhould be ſo deſirous of having an emperor. 1273.

In this aſſembly they propoſed no prince who poſſeſſed extenſive dominions. They were too jealous of one another. The count of Tirol, who was of the number of the electors, names three perſons, a count de Goritz, lord of a ſmall country in the Frioul, and abſolutely unknown; one Bernard, as little known, who had nothing but ſome pretenſions upon the duchy of Carinthia; and Rodolphus de Hapſbourg, a celebrated captain and great marſhal of the court of Ottocarus, king of Bohemia.

The electors, being divided between theſe three competitors, refer the affair to the deciſion of Lewis the Severe, count Palatine and duke of Bavaria, the ſame who had educated, and in vain befriended the unhappy Conradin and Frederic of Auſtria. This is the firſt example of ſuch an arbitration. Lewis of Bavaria names Rodolphus of Hapſbourg emperor.

The burgrave or conſtable of Nuremberg carries the news to Rodolphus, who, being no longer in the ſervice of the king of Bohemia, was employed in his petty wars about Baſil and Straſbourg.

Alphonſus of Caſtile and the king of Bohemia in vain proteſts againſt this election. This proteſt of Ottocarus is ſurely no proof of his having refuſed the imperial crown. Rodolphus was the ſon of Albert count of

of Hapſbourg in Swifferland. His mother was Ulrica of Ribourg*, who had ſeveral lordſhips in Alſace. He had been long ago married to Anne of Hæneberg, by whom he had four children. He was turned of fifty-five when he aſcended the imperial throne. He had one brother, colonel in the ſervice of the Milaneſe, and another a canon at Baſil; but both died before his election.

He is crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, though we know not by what archbiſhop. It is reported that the imperial ſceptre, ſaid to be that uſed by Charlemagne, being miſſing, this defect of formality began to ſerve as a pretext to ſeveral noblemen who did not chooſe to take the oath. He ſeized a crucifix. "This is my ſceptre," ſaid he; and all preſent did him homage. This action of fortitude alone rendered him reſpectable, and the reſt of his conduct ſhewed him worthy of the empire.

He marries his ſon Albert to a daughter of the count of Tirol, ſiſter-in-law of Conradin. By this marriage Albert ſeems to acquire the right to Alſace and Suabia, the family inheritance of the famous emperor Frederic II. Alſace was then divided among ſeveral petty lords. It was neceſſary to make war upon them. He by his prudence procures the troops of the empire, and ſubdues the whole by his valour. A prefect is appointed to govern Alſace. This is one of the moſt important æras with regard to the interior parts of Germany. The poſſeſſors of lands in Suabia and Alſace held of the imperial houſe of Suabia; but after the extinction of that houſe in the perſon of the unfortunate Conradin, they would hold of none but the empire. This is the true origin of the immediate nobility, and this is the reaſon that a greater number of this nobility is found in Suabia than in all the other provinces.

The emperor Rodolphus ſucceeds in ſubduing the gentlemen of Alſace, and creates a prefect in that province; but after him the barons of Alſace became for the moſt part free and immediate barons, as much ſovereigns

* The annotator on Heiſs ſays his mother was Itha, daughter of the count de Bregeritz.

ſovereigns in their ſmall demeſne, as the greateſt German noblemen were in their extenſive dominions. This, through the greateſt part of Europe, was the aim of every perſon who poſſeſſed a caſtle or country houſe.

Three ambaſſadors of Rodolphus take the oath in his name to pope Gregory X. in the conſiſtory.

The Pope writes to Rodolphus: "By the advice of the cardinals, we appoint you king of the Romans." 1274.

Alphonſus X. king of Caſtile, at this time renounces the empire.

Rodolphus viſits the Pope at Lauſanne: he promiſes to cauſe the marche of Ancona, and the lands of Mathilda to be reſtored: he promiſes that which he could not perform. All this country was in the hands of the towns and noblemen, who had ſeized it at the expence of the Pope and the empire. Italy was divided into twenty principalities or republics, like antient Greece, but more powerful. Venice, Genoa, and Piſa, had a greater number of ſhips than the emperor could maintain of enſigns. Florence became conſiderable, and was already the nurſe of the liberal arts. 1275.

Rodolphus firſt of all applied his attention to Germany. Ottocarus III. the powerful king of Bohemia, duke of Auſtria, Carinthia, and Carniola, refuſed to do him homage. "I owe nothing to Rodolphus, ſaid he; I have paid him his wages." He aſſociates with Bavaria.

Rodolphus ſupports the majeſty of his rank: he puts this powerful Ottocarus to the ban of the empire, together with Henry duke of Bavaria, who is leagued with him. The emperor is furniſhed with troops, and goes to avenge the rights of the German empire.

The emperor Rodolphus defeats, one after another, all thoſe who eſpouſe the party of Ottocarus, or who attempt to take the advantage of this diviſion; namely, the count de Neubourg, the count de Fribourg, the marquis of Baden, the count of Wirtemberg, and Henry duke of Bavaria. 1276.

He

He all at once finiſhes this war with the Bavarians, by giving one of his daughters in marriage to that prince's ſon, and receiving forty thouſand ounces of gold, inſtead of giving a portion with his daughter.

From thence he marches againſt Ottocarus, whom he forces to a compoſition. The king of Bohemia cedes Auſtria, Stiria, and Carniola. He conſents to do liege homage to the emperor in the iſland of Camberg, in the middle of the Danube, under a pavillion cloſe covered, that he might be ſpared a public mortification.

Ottocarus repairs to the place quite covered with gold and jewels. Rodolphus, ſuperior in his pride, receives him in the moſt coarſe and ſimple dreſs; and, in the midſt of the ceremony, the curtains of the pavilion fall back, and expoſe to the eyes of the people, and the armies who lined the banks of the Danube, the haughty Ottocarus on his knees, with his hands joined between thoſe of his conqueror, whom he had ſo often called his Steward, and to whom he now became cupbearer. This ſtory is well vouched, though the truth of it is of very little importance.

The wife of Ottocarus, more haughty than her huſ-
1277. band, reproaches him ſo much for the homage he had done, and the ceſſion of his provinces, that the king of Bohemia renews the war towards Auſtria.

The emperor obtains a complete victory Auguſt 26, and Ottocarus is ſlain in the battle. The victor uſes his fortune like a legiſlator: he gives Bohemia to young Winceſlaus, the ſon of the vanquiſhed, and the regency to the marquis of Brandenburg.

Rodolphus makes his entry into Vienna and eſtabliſhes
1278. himſelf in Auſtria. Lewis duke of Bavaria, who had more than one right to that duchy, wants to avail himſelf of that right. Rodolphus falls upon him with his victorious troops. Nothing now is able to reſiſt him; and we ſee this prince, whom the electors had called to reign in the empire, without power, become in effect the conqueror of Germany.

Though

Though he reigns in Germany, he is far from being master in Italy. Pope Nicholas III. easily gains from him that long process which so many pontiffs had supported against so many emperors. 1279. Rodolphus by a deed, dated February 15, 1279, cedes to the holy see the lands of the countess Mathilda, renounces the right of paramount, and disavows his chancellor, who had received the homage in the course of this same year. The electors approve of this cession. This prince, in abandoning the rights for which they had fought so long, in effect yielded nothing but the right of receiving homage from noblemen, who never did it without reluctance. This was all he could then obtain in Italy, where the empire was no more. This cession must have been a matter of very little consequence, seeing all he had in exchange was the title of Senator of Rome, and that for one year only.

The Pope at length succeeded in taking this vain title of Senator from Charles of Anjou, because that prince would not match his nephew with the pontiff's niece; saying, "Although he was called Orsini, and had red feet, his blood was not made to mingle with the blood of France."

Nicholas III. likewise deprives Charles of Anjou of the vicariat of the empire in Tuscany. This vicariat was no more than a name, and indeed this name could not subsist after there was an emperor elected.

The situation of Rodolphus in Italy was (according to Girolamo Briani) like that of a merchant when he fails, whose effects are divided among other traders.

The emperor Rodolphus accommodates matters with Charles of Sicily by the marriage of one of his daughters. He gives that princess called Clementia to Charles Martel, the grandson of Charles of Anjou. The new-married couple were still infants. 1280.

Charles, by means of this marriage, obtains of the emperor the investiture of the counties of Provence and Forcalquier.

After

After the death of Nicholas III. they choſe a Frenchman, called Brion, who takes the name of Martin IV. This Frenchman at firſt orders the dignity of ſenator to be reſtored to the king of Sicily, and is inclined to reinveſt him likewiſe with the vicariat of the empire in Tuſcany. Rodolphus ſeems to give himſelf very little concern about the matter: he has buſineſs enough of his own in Bohemia. That country had rebelled in conſequence of the violent conduct of the margrave of Brandenburg, who was regent; and, beſides, Rodolphus had more occaſion for money than for titles.

1281, 1282. Theſe years are memorable for the famous conſpiracy of the Sicilian veſpers. John de Procida, a rich young gentleman of Salerno, (who, notwithſtanding his rank, exerciſed the profeſſions of phyſic and the law) was the author of this conſpiracy, which ſeemed ſo oppoſite to his way of life. He was a Ghibelin paſſionately attached to the memory of Frederic II. and the houſe of Suabia: he had been ſeveral times in Arragon with queen Conſtance the daughter of Mainfroy: he glowed with impatience to revenge the blood which Charles of Anjou had ſpilt; but finding it impracticable to do any thing in the kingdom of Naples, reſtrained by the preſence and dread of Charles, he hatched his ſcheme in Sicily, which was governed by the provençals, who were more deteſted and leſs powerful than their maſter.

The project of Charles of Anjou was to conquer Conſtantinople. The great fruit of the cruſades of the Weſt had been to take the empire of the Greeks in 1204, and they had loſt it afterwards, together with the reſt of the conqueſts they had made upon the Muſſulmans. The rage of going to fight in Paleſtine was abated ſince the misfortune of St. Lewis; but Conſtantinople ſeemed an eaſy prey, and Charles of Anjou thought to dethrone Michael Paleologus, who then poſſeſſed the remains of the eaſtern empire. John de Procida goes in diſguiſe to Conſtantinople, to warn Michael Paleologus, and excite him to be before-hand with Charles. Thence he haſtens to Arragon, where he has a private audience of king Peter. He received money

money from both theſe princes. He eaſily finds people to engage in the conſpiracy. Peter of Arragon fits out a fleet on pretence of invading Afric, and keeps himſelf in readineſs to make a deſcent upon Sicily. Procida finds no difficulty in preparing the minds of the Sicilians.

At length, on the third day of Eaſter, 1282, at the ſound of the veſper bell, all the Provençals in the iſland are maſſacred, ſome in churches, ſome at their doors and in public ſtreets, and ſome in their own houſes. Eight thouſand perſons are ſuppoſed to have been ſlaughtered; three, nay four times the number of men have been killed in above an hundred battles, without attracting the notice of mankind. But in this caſe the ſecret ſo long kept by a whole people, the conquerors exterminated by the conquered nation, women and children maſſacred, daughters of Sicilians with child by Provençals, ſlain by their own fathers, and penitents murdered by their confeſſors, render this event for ever famous and execrable. It is always ſaid, that the perſons murdered at thoſe Sicilian veſpers were French, becauſe Provence now belongs to France; but it was then a province of the empire, and the people maſſacred were really Imperialiſts.

This is the manner in which the revenge of Conradin and the duke of Auſtria began. Their death was occaſioned by the guilt of one man; namely, Charles of Anjou; and it was expiated by the murder of eight thouſand innocent perſons.

Peter of Arragon then lands in Sicily with his wife Conſtance. The whole nation owns him as ſovereign; and from that day Sicily remained with the houſe of Arragon; but the kingdom of Naples continued with a prince of France.

The emperor gives to his two eldeſt ſons, Albert and Rodolphus, at one time the inveſtiture of Auſtria, Stiria, and Carniola, on the 27th day of December, 1282, in a diet at Augſburg, with the conſent of all the noblemen, including that of Lewis of Bavaria, who had pretenſions to Auſtria. But how could he at one time give the inveſtiture of the ſame dominions to theſe two

two princes? Had they any thing more than the title? Was the youngeſt to ſucceed his eldeſt brother? or had the younger any thing but the name, while the other enjoyed the lands? or were they to poſſeſs theſe dominions in common? Theſe are circumſtances not explained. What is inconteſtible is, that we find a number of deeds in which the two brothers are named conjunctly dukes of Auſtria, Stiria, and Carniola.

There is only one old anonymous chronicle which ſays that the emperor Rodolphus inveſted his ſon Rodolphus with Suabia *; but there is no document or charter by which it appears that young Rodolphus ever poſſeſſed Suabia: all the grants call him, as well as his brother, duke of Auſtria, Stiria, and Carniola: nevertheleſs, one hiſtorian having adopted that chronicle, all the others have followed him; and in the genealogical tables, Rodolphus is always called duke of Suabia. If he really was, how could his family have loſt that duchy?

In the ſame diet the emperor gives Carinthia, and the marche Treviſano to his ſon-in-law the count of Tirol. The advantage he reaped from the dignity of emperor, was to provide for all the branches of his family.

1283, 1284. Rodolphus governs the empire as well as his own family. He makes up quarrels between ſeveral noblemen and ſeveral towns.

Hiſtorians ſay that his labours had weakened him greatly; and that, when he was turned of his grand climacteric, the phyſicians adviſed him to take a young wife of fifteen to ſtrengthen his conſtitution. Theſe hiſtorians are bad philoſophers. He marries Agnes, daughter of a count of Burgundy.

In this year, 1284, Peter king of Arragon takes the prince of Salerno, ſon of Charles of Anjou, priſoner; but is not able to make himſelf maſter of Naples. The

* So it appears by Dumont's Corp-diplom. Barre mentions nothing of Rodolphus's being inveſted with Auſtria, Syria, &c.

wars

wars of Naples no longer concern the empire, until the reign of Charles V.

The Cumins, a remnant of the Tartars, lay waſte Hungary. 1285.

The emperor inveſts John Davennes with the country of Aloſt, the country of Vaſs, Zealand, and Hainault. The country of Flanders is not ſpecified in this inveſtiture: it was become inconteſtibly plain that it held of France.

To crown the glory of Rodolphus, he ought to have eſtabliſhed himſelf in Italy, as he was in Germany; but the opportunity was paſt. 1286, 1287. He would not even go to be crowned at Rome: he contented himſelf with ſelling liberty to thoſe towns of Italy, which choſe to purchaſe it at his hands. Florence paid forty thouſand ducats of gold; Lucca, twelve thouſand; Genoa and Bologna, ſix thouſand. Almoſt all the other towns gave nothing, pretending they were not bound to acknowledge an emperor who was not crowned at Rome.

But in what did this gift or confirmation of liberty conſiſt? Was it an abſolute ſeparation from the empire? There is no act of thoſe times that expreſſes any ſuch convention. This liberty conſiſted in the right to appoint magiſtrates, to govern themſelves according to their own municipal laws, to coin money, and maintain troops. It was no more than a confirmation or extenſion of the rights obtained from Frederic Barbaroſſa. Italy was then independent, and as it were detached from the empire, becauſe the emperor had little power, and was at a great diſtance. Time might have ſecured to this country the full enjoyment of liberty. Already the towns of Lombardy, and even thoſe of Swiſſerland, had left off taking the oath, and inſenſibly retrieved their natural right of independency.

With regard to the towns of Germany, they without exception took the oath; but ſome were reputed *free*, ſuch as Augſburg, Aix-la-Chapelle, and Mentz; others were called *imperial*, as they paid tribute; a third ſort had the name of *ſubject*, as thoſe who held immediately of the princes, and mediately of the empire;

pire; and a fourth obtained the appellation of *mixed*, becauſe, though they held of the princes, they enjoyed ſome imperial rights.

All the great imperial towns were differently governed. Nuremberg was ruled by nobles; in Straſbourg the citizens had the authority.

Rodolphus makes all his daughters ſubſervient to his intereſt: he matches a daughter he had by his firſt wife to young Winceſlaus king of Bohemia, now come of age, and makes him ſwear he will never make any pretenſions to the duchies of Auſtria and Stiria; but, by way of recompence, he confirms him in the office of great cupbearer.

1288, 1289, 1290.

The dukes of Bavaria pretended to this office of the emperor's houſe. It ſeems the quality of elector was inſeparable from that of a great officer of the crown; not that the lords of the principal fiefs had relinquiſhed their right of electing, but the great officers inſiſted upon having this right in preference to others. It was for this reaſon the dukes of Bavaria diſputed the office of grand maſter with the branch of Bavaria Palatine, tho' this laſt was the eldeſt.

A great diet at Erfort, in which the diviſion already made of Thuringia is confirmed. The Eaſtern continues in the houſe of Miſnia, which is now that of Saxony; the Weſtern remains with the houſe of Brabant, which was heir of Miſnia by the female line. This is the preſent houſe of Heſſe.

Ladiſlaus III. king of Hungary, having been ſlain by the Cuman-Tartars, who ſtill ravaged that country, the emperor, who pretends that Hungary is a fief of the empire, reſolves to beſtow that fief upon his ſon Albert, to whom he had already given Auſtria.

Pope Nicholas IV. who thinks that all kingdoms are fiefs at Rome, gives Hungary to Charles Martel, grandſon of Charles of Anjou king of Naples and Sicily: but as this Charles Martel is the emperor's ſon-in-law, and as the Hungarians will not receive the emperor's ſon as their king, for fear of being enſlaved, Rodolphus conſents that his ſon-in-law, Charles Martel, ſhall endeavour

vour to obtain that crown of which he could not deprive him.

This is another great example of the uncertainty of the feodal right. The county of Burgundy, that is Franche Comté, pretended to hold of the kingdom of France, and in that quality had taken the oath of allegiance to Philip the Fair. Nevertheleſs, before that period, all that made part of the old kingdom of Burgundy held of the emperors.

Rodolphus makes war upon him, but this is ſoon terminated by the count's doing the homage he demanded; ſo that this count of Burgundy at one time held both of the empire and of France.

Rodolphus confers the title of Palatine of Saxony upon his ſon-in-law Albert II. duke of Saxony. We muſt take care to diſtinguiſh that houſe of Saxony from the preſent, which, as we have ſaid, is from the houſe of Miſnia.

The emperor Rodolphus dies at Germeſheim, July 15th in the 73d year of his age, and in the nineteenth of his reign. 1291.

ADOLPHUS OF NASSAU.

TWENTY-NINTH EMPEROR.

After an Interregnum of nine Months.

THE German princes afraid of rendering hereditary that empire of Germany which was always called the Roman empire, and not agreeing in their choice, make a ſecond compromiſe, of which we have ſeen an example in the nomination of Rodolphus. The archbiſhop of Mentz to whom it was referred, names Adolphus of Naſſau on the ſame principle as that on which they had choſen his predeceſſor. He was the moſt illuſtrious warrior, and the pooreſt of that time. He ſeemed capable of maintaining the 1292.

glory

glory of the empire at the head of the German armies, without being powerful enough to to enſlave it. He poſſeſſed but three lordſhips in the county of Naſſau.

Albert duke of Auſtria diſguſted becauſe he did not ſucceed his father, joins againſt the new emperor with that ſame count of Burgundy who would be no longer a vaſſal of Germany, and theſe two obtain ſuccours from Philip the Fair king of France. The houſe of Auſtria, begins by inviting againſt the emperor thoſe very French, whom the princes of the empire have ſince ſo often invited againſt her. Albert of Auſtria, with the aſſiſtance of France, at firſt makes war in Swiſſerland, the ſoverignty of which was claimed by his houſe. He takes Zurich with the French troops.

1293. Albert of Auſtria excites Straſbourg and Colmar to rebel againſt Adolphus. The emperor at the head of ſome troops, furniſhed by the imperial fiefs, appeaſes theſe troubles. A difference between the count of Flanders and the citizens of Ghent is carried before the parliament of Paris, and decided in favour of the citizens. It was very clearly acknowledged that from Ghent to Boulogne, Arras and Cambray, Flanders held ſolely of the king of France.

1294. Adolphus unites with Edward king of England againſt France; but as he dreaded ſuch a powerful vaſſal as the duke of Auſtria, he undertakes nothing. We have ſeen this alliance more than once renewed in the like circumſtances.

1295. A ſhameful piece of injuſtice in the emperor is the firſt origin of his misfortunes and fatal end. A great example to ſovereigns. Albert of Miſnia, landgrave of Thuringia, one of the anceſtors of all the princes of Saxony, who makes ſuch a great figure in Germany, ſon-in-law of the emperor Frederic II. had three children by the princeſs his wife. He had repudiated her for a miſtreſs unworthy of him, and for that reaſon the Germans had juſtly beſtowed upon him the firname Depraved. Having a baſtard by that concubine, he reſolved to diſinherit his three legitimate children in his favour. He ſet up his fiefs to ſale in deſpite of the laws, and the emperor in deſpite of the

the laws purchaſes them with the money he has received from the king of England to make war upon France.

The three princes boldly maintain their rights againſt the emperor. In vain does he take Dreſden and ſeveral caſtles; he is driven from Miſnia, and all Germany declares againſt ſuch ſcandalous proceedings.

The rupture between the emperor and the king of England on one ſide and France on the other, ſtill continued. Pope Boniface VIII. orders all three to agree to a truce, on pain of excommunication. 1296.

The emperor had more need of a truce with the noblemen of the empire; for all of them reſented his conduct. Winceſlaus king of Bohemia, Albert duke of Auſtria, the duke of Saxony, and the archbiſhop of Mentz aſſembled at Prague. There were two marquiſes of Brandenburg; not that both poſſeſſed the ſame marquiſate, but being brothers both took the ſame title. This practice began to be cuſtomary. The emperor is formally impeached and a diet ſummoned to meet at Egra to depoſe him. 1297.

Albert of Auſtria ſends to Rome to ſolicit the depoſition of Adolphus. This is a right which was always allowed to the pope, when it was thought it could turn to advantage. The duke of Auſtria pretends to have received the pope's conſent, which however he had not obtained. The archbiſhop of Mentz ſolemnly depoſes the emperor in the name of all the princes. Theſe are the terms in which he expreſſed himſelf. "We are told our envoys have obtained the pope's conſent; others affirm the pope has refuſed it: but without regarding any other authority than that with which we have been inveſted, we d poſe Adolphus fron the imperial dignity, and elect lord Albert duke of Auſtria for king of the Romans."

Boniface VIII. forbids the electors on pain of excommunication to conſecrate the new king of the Romans, and they anſwer that it is by no means an affair of religion. 1298.

Mean while Adolphus, having ſome biſhops and noblemen in his party, was ſtill at the head of an army. On the ſecond day of July he gives battle to his rival near Spire; the two meet in the midſt of the engagement. Albert of Auſtria thruſts a ſword into his eye. Adolphus dies fighting and leaves the empire to Albert.

ALBERT I. OF AUSTRIA.

THIRTIETH EMPEROR.

ALBERT of Auſtria begins by referring his right to the electors the better to ſecure it. He is a ſecond time elected at Frankfort, then crowned at Aix-la-chapelle by the archbiſhop of Cologne. 1298.

Pope Boniface VIII. will not acknowledge him. This pope had at that time violent quarrels with Philip *the fair* of France.

The emperor Albert forthwith unites himſelf to Philip, and marries his eldeſt ſon Rodolphus to Blanche that king's ſiſter. The articles of this marriage are remarkable. He engages to give to his ſon Auſtria, Stiria, Carniola, Alſace, Fribourg in the Briſgau, and aſſigns Alſace and Fribourg as a jointure to his daughter-in-law, referring himſelf for the portion of Blanche intirely to the good-will of the king of France. 1299.

Albert ſends an intimation of this marriage to the pope, who makes no other anſwer, but that the emperor is an uſurper, and that there is no other Cæſar but the ſovereign pontiff of the Chriſtians.

The houſes of France and Auſtria ſeemed at that time cloſely united by this marriage, by their common hatred to Boniface VIII. and by the neceſſity they were under to defend themſelves againſt their vaſſals; for at the ſame time Holland and Zealand which were vaſſals of the empire made war upon 1300, 1301.

on Albert, and the Flemings who were vaſſals of France had taken arms againſt Philip the Fair.

Boniface VIII. who was ſtill prouder than Gregory VII. and more impetuous, takes this opportunity to brave at once the emperor and the king of France. On one ſide he excites againſt Philip the Fair his own brother Charles of Valois; on the other hand he foments a revolt of the princes of Germany againſt Albert.

No pope ever puſhed farther the madneſs of giving away kingdoms. He invites Charles of Valois into Italy, and appoints him vicar of the empire in Tuſcany. He makes a match between that prince and the daughter of Baldwin II. the depoſed emperor of Conſtantinople, and boldly declares Charles Valois emperor of the Greeks. Nothing is greater than ſuch enterprizes when they are well conducted and ſucceſsful; and nothing more mean when they are ineffectual. This pope, in leſs than three years, gave away the empires of the eaſt and weſt, and laid the kingdom of France under interdiction.

The circumſtances in which Germany was involved, had well nigh inſured his ſucceſs againſt Albert of Auſtria. He writes to the archbiſhops of Mentz, Triers and Cologne: "We command Albert to appear before us in ſix months, to clear himſelf if he can of the crime of treaſon committed againſt his ſovereign Adolphus. We forbid you to acknowledge him as king of the Romans, &c.

Thoſe three archbiſhops, who did not love Albert, agree with the count Palatine of the Rhine to proceed againſt him, as they had proceeded againſt his predeceſſor; and what ſhews that they where always two weights and two meaſures, they accuſe him of being guilty of a crime, in having defeated and ſlain in battle that very Adolphus whom they had depoſed, and againſt whom he had been armed by their own conſent and direction.

The count Palatine actually lays informations againſt the emperor Albert. It is well known that the counts Palatine were originally judges in the palace, and judges in civil cauſes between the prince and ſubject, as is the

practice in all countries under different denominations.

The Palatines thought they had a right to judge the emperor himſelf in criminal caſes. And it is upon this pretenſion that we ſhall ſee a Palatine, and a ban of Croatia condemn a queen.

Albert, having the other princes of the empire on his ſide, anſwers theſe proceedings with war.

The judges in a very little time aſk pardon, and the elector Palatine is fain to pay a large ſum of money for his proceedings.

1302.

Poland, after a ſeries of troubles, elects for its king Winceſlaus king of Bohemia. This prince eſtabliſhes ſome ſort of order in a country where there was never any before. It was he who inſtituted the ſenate. This Winceſlaus gives his ſon as king to the Hungarians, who demanded himſelf.

Boniface VIII. fails not to pretend that this is an outrage againſt him, who alone has the right to give Hungary a king. He appoints to that ſtation Carobert, a deſcendent of Charles of Anjou. One would think the emperor ought not to have accuſtomed the pope to give away kingdoms; yet this is what effected his reconciliation with him. He was more afraid of the power of Winceſlaus than of the pope. He therefore protects Carobert, and lays Bohemia waſte. Authors ſay his army was poiſoned by the Bohemians, who infected the water in the neighbourhood of the camp. But this is not a very credible circumſtance.

What effectually engages the emperor in the intereſt of Boniface VIII. is the bloody quarrel between that pope and Philip the Fair. Boniface being mal-treated by Philip, and that very deſervedly, at length acknowledges Albert whom he proſecuted, as lawful king of the Romans, and promiſes him the imperial crown, provided he would declare war againſt the king of France.

1303.

Albert repays the pope's complaiſance with a ſtill greater piece of condeſcenſion. He acknowledges "that the empire was transferred from the Greeks to the

the Germans by the holy ſee; that the electors hold their right of the pope, and that emperors and kings receive from him the legal power." It was againſt ſuch a declaration at this, that the count Palatine ought to have proceeded.

It was not worth the trouble, thus to flatter Boniface VIII. who died October 12, after he had with difficulty eſcaped from the priſon in which he was detained by the king of France, at the very gates of Rome.

Mean-while the king of France confiſcates Flanders from count Gui Dampiere, and after a bloody battle remains maſter of Liſle, Douay, Orchies, Bethune, and a very extenſive country, without the emperor's giving himſelf any trouble about the matter.

He no longer thinks of Italy, ſtill divided between the Guelphs aad Ghibelins.

Ladiſlaus, that ſon of the reſpectable Winceſlaus king of Bohemia and Poland, is expelled from Hungary. His father (as it is pretended) died of grief for his expulſion, if kings can actually die of that diſtemper. 1304, 1305.

Otho duke of Bavaria cauſes himſelf to be elected king of Hungary, and is ſent back again the very ſame year. Ladiſlaus returns to Bohemia, where he is aſſinated. Thus we ſee three elective kingdoms vacant at once, namely Hungary, Bohemia, and Poland.

The emperor Albert cauſes his ſon Rodolphus to be crowned in Bohemia by dint of arms. Carobert ſtill ſupports his pretenſions to Hungary, and a Poliſh nobleman called Uladiſlaus Locticus is elected or rather re-eſtabliſhed in Poland; but the emperor has no ſhare in the tranſaction.

Here follows a piece of injuſtice which one would not expect from a prince of ability. The emperor Adolphus of Naſſau had loſt his crown and life in conſequence of having incurred the hatred of the Germans, and this hatred was chiefly founded on his attempt to ſtrip the lawful heirs of Miſnia and Thuringia for a ſum of money. 1306.

Philip de Naſſau brother of this emperor reclaimed the countries which had been ſo unjuſtly purchaſed. Albert declares from him, in hopes of obtaining a ſhare. The princes of Thuringia defend themſelves, and are without ceremony put to the ban of the empire. This proſcription furniſhes them with partizans and an army. They cut in pieces the army of the emperor, who is glad to leave them in peaceable poſſeſſion of their dominions. We generally find in the Germans a ſtrong fund of attachments to their rights; and by this alone that mixed government hath ſo long ſubſiſted; an edifice often on the brink of tumbling, yet ſtill firm and well founded.

Pope Clement V. ſends a legate to Hungary, to give the crown to Carobert in the name of the
1307. holy ſee. Formerly this kingdom was in the gift of the emperors; but at this time the popes diſpoſed of it, as well as of Naples. The Hungarians choſe to be vaſſals to the unarmed popes, rather than of the emperors, who might enſlave them. But it would have been ſtill better to be vaſſals to no power whatſoever.

Origin of the LIBERTY of the Swiſs.

Swiſſerland held of the empire, and part of that country belonged to the houſe of Auſtria, as Fribourg, Lucerne, Zug and Glaris. Theſe ſmall towns, although ſubjects, had great privileges, and were ranked with the mixed towns of the empire; others were imperial, and governed by their own citizens, ſuch as Zurich, Baſil and Scaffhouſen. The cantons of Uri, Schwitz, and Underwald, were under the patronage, but not the dominion of the houſe of Auſtria.

The emperor Albert wanted to be deſpotic through the whole country. The governors and commiſſaries, whom he ſent thither, exerciſed a ſpecies of tyranny which at firſt produced abundance of miſery, but in the end was productive of the bleſſing of liberty.

The founders of that liberty were called Melchthal. Stauffacher, and Walter Fuſt. The difficulty of pronouncing

nouncing ſuch reſpectable names, has in ſome meaſure injured their fame: theſe three peaſants, being men of ſenſe and reſolution, were the firſt conſpirators; each of them engaged three others; and thoſe nine brought over the cantons of Uri, Schwitz, and Underwald.

All the hiſtorians alledge, that while they were concerting the conſpiracy, a governor of Uri, whoſe name was Geiſler, took it in his head to exerciſe a kind of tyranny equally horrible and ridiculous: he commanded, ſay they, one of his caps to be placed upon the top of a pole erected in the market-place, and decreed that every perſon ſhould bow to the cap, on pain of death. One of the conſpirators, called William Tell, would not ſalute the cap: the governor condemned him to be hanged, and would not pardon him, except upon condition, that the convict, who was eſteemed an expert archer, ſhould bring down with an arrow an apple placed upon the head of his own ſon: the father ſhot in the utmoſt trepidation, and was ſo lucky as to hit the apple: Geiſler, perceiving another arrow under Tell's coat, aſked him what he intended to do with it; "It was intended for thee ſaid the Swiſs, had I wounded my ſon."

The ſtory of the apple is I own very ſuſpicious, and what follows is no leſs doubtful: but, in ſhort, it is generally believed that Tell being put in irons, afterwards killed the governor with an arrow; that this was the ſignal for the conſpirators; and that the people ſeized the fortreſſes, and demoliſhed thoſe inſtruments of their ſlavery.

Albert being on the eve of venturing his forces againſt that courage inſpired by the enthuſiaſm of new-born liberty, loſes his life in a melancholy manner. His own nephew John, improperly called duke of Suabia, who could not obtain from him the enjoyment of his patrimony, conſpires his death, with the help of ſome accomplices: he himſelf gives the emperor the fatal ſtab, while he was walking with him near Rheinsfeldt, upon the banks of the river Ruſs, in the neighbourhood of Switzerland. Few ſovereigns have died a more tragical death, and none was ever 1308.

leſs regretted. In all probability, the deed by which Auſtria, Stiria and Carniola, were conveyed by the emperor Rodolphus of Hapſbourg to his two ſons, was the cauſe of this aſſociation: John, ſon of prince Rodolphus, having in vain demanded his ſhare, which was detained by his uncle Albert, reſolved to obtain poſſeſſion by committing the crime of high treaſon.

HENRY VII.

Of the houſe of Luxemburg.

THIRTY-FIRST EMPEROR.

AFTER the murder of Albert, the throne of Germany continued vacant for ſeven months.
1308. Among the pretenders to this throne, we reckon Philip *the Fair*, king of France; but, there is no monument of the hiſtory of France, that makes the leaſt mention of this circumſtance.

Charles de Valois, that monarch's brother, enters the liſts of competition. He was a prince who went every-where in queſt of kingdoms: he had received the crown of Arragon from the hands of pope Martin IV. and done him homage, and taken the oath of fidelity, which the Popes exact from the kings of Arragon; but all he had was a vain title. Boniface VIII. had promiſed to make him king of the Romans, but he could not keep his word.

Bertrand de Got, a Gaſcon, archbiſhop of Bourdeaux, being raiſed to the pontificate of Rome, by the protection of Philip *the Fair*, promiſes the imperial crown to that prince: The Popes could do a great deal at this period, in ſpite of their impotence, becauſe their refuſing to acknowledge a king of the Romans, elected in Germany, was often a pretext for faction and civil war.

This pope Clement V. acts in diametrical oppoſition to his promiſe; he underhand preſſes the electors to chooſe Henry count of Luxemburg.

That

That prince is the firſt who was choſen by ſix electors only, all the ſix great officers of the crown; the archbiſhop of Mentz, Triers and Cologne, as chancellors; the count palatine, of the preſent houſe of Bavaria, as grand maſter of the houſhold; the duke of Saxony, of the houſe of Aſcania, as great maſter of the horſe; and the marquis of Bandenbourg, of the ſame houſe of Aſcania, as great chamberlain.

The king of Bohemia, as great cup-bearer, was not preſent, nor did any perſon repreſent him by proxy. The kingdom of Bohemia was then vacant; for the Bohemians would not acknowledge the duke of Carinthia, whom they had elected, but made war upon him as a tyrant.

It was the count palatine, who, in the name of the ſix electors, nominated, "Henry count of Luxemburg, king of the Romans, future emperor, protector of the Roman Catholic Church, and defender of widows and orphans."

Henry VII. begins by revenging the aſſaſſination of the emperor Albert: he puts the murderer John, the pretended duke of Suabia, to the ban of the empire; Frederic and Leopold of Auſtria, his couſins, deſcended like him from Rodolphus of Hapſbourg, execute the ſentence, and receive the inveſtiture of his domains. 1309.

One of the aſſaſſins, called Rodolphus de Warth, a conſiderable nobleman, is taken, and with him begins the cuſtom of breaking on the wheel. As for John, after having wandered a long time from place to place, he obtains the Pope's abſolution, and turns monk.

The emperor confers upon his ſon John of Luxemburg, the title of duke, without, however, erecting Luxemburg into a duchy: there were dukes by breviate, as we now ſee them in France, but they were all princes: we have already ſeen that the emperors created kings by breviate.

The emperor, with a view to eſtabliſh his family, cauſes his ſon John of Luxemburg to be elected king of Bohemia: there was a neceſſity for conquering it

from the duke of Carinthia; and this was no difficult task, as the whole nation was againſt the ſaid duke *

All the Jews are expelled from Germany, and great part of them ſtripped of their effects; that people, devoted to uſury ever ſince it had been known, having always exerciſed that profeſſion at Babylon, Alexandria, Rome, and through all Europe, had every-where rendered themſelves equally neceſſary and execrable: there was ſcarce a town in which the Jews were not accuſed of ſacrificing a child on Friday, and ſtabbing the hoſt: proceſſions are ſtill made in ſeveral towns, in remembrance of the hoſts which have been ſtabbed and ſhed blood; theſe ridiculous impeachments ſerved as pretexts to ſtrip them of their wealth.

The order of Templars is treated more cruelly than the Jews: this is one of the moſt incom-
1310. prehenſible events. Knights who made a vow to fight for Jeſus Chriſt, are accuſed of renouncing him, adoring a copper head, and of committing the moſt horrible debauches, by way of ſecret ceremonies at their reception into the order: in France they are condemned to the ſtake, in conſequence of a bull of pope Clement V. and of their great poſſeſſions. Molai Gui, brother of the dauphin d'Auvergne, great maſter of the order, and ſeventy-four knights, in vain make oath that the order is innocent of the charge. Philip *the Fair*, incenſed againſt them, cauſes them to be found guilty; they are condemned by the Pope, who

* Having expelled this duke, he confirmed his ſon in poſſeſſion of the throne, by marrying him to the princeſs Elizabeth, daughter and heireſs of Winceſlaus, late king of Bohemia, by a daughter of the emperor Rodolphus. This marriage was for ſome time poſtponed, in conſequence of a report ſpread to the prejudice of the young lady's virtue: ſhe no ſooner underſtood the cauſe of the delay, than repairing to the emperor's anti-chamber, ſhe undreſſed herſelf to the ſhift, in preſence of the ladies there aſſembled, and approaching Henry, demanded that ſhe might be examined immediately by matrons: ſhe was accordingly committed to the care of ſome ladies and midwives, who unanimouſly declared her an unſpotted virgin; and, in conſequence of their teſtimony, the nuptials were ſolemnized with great magnificence.

who is devoted to the king of France, and fifty-nine are burnt in Paris; they are perſecuted every-where. Two years after this event, the Pope aboliſhes the order; but in Germany nothing is done to their prejudice; perhaps becauſe they were too much perſecuted in France: in all probability, the debauchery of ſome young knights had given occaſion to calumniate the whole order.

Henry VII. reſolves to re-eſtabliſh the empire in Italy.

No emperor had been there ſince Fredric II.

A diet is held at Frankfort, in order to eſtabliſh John of Luxemburg, king of Bohemia, vicar of the empire, and to provide for the emperor's journey: this journey is well known by the name of The Roman expedition: every ſtate of the empire contributes a certain ſum to furniſh ſoldiers, horſemen, or money.

The emperor's commiſſaries, by whom he is preceded, take the uſual oath to the Pope's commiſſaries at Lauſanne, on the 11th of October: an oath always conſidered by the Popes as an act of homage and obedience; and by the emperors, as a promiſe of protection; but the words of it were favourable to the pretenſions of the Popes.

Italy is ſtill divided by the factions of the Guelphs and Ghibelins: but theſe factions had no longer the ſame aim as heretofore; they no longer fought for the emperor and Pope; it was a word of reproach, to which there was no preciſe idea affixed: we have ſeen an example of the ſame kind, in the factions of the whigs and tories of England. 1311.

Pope Clement V. fled from Rome, where he had no power, and ſettled his court at Lions, with his miſtreſs the counteſs of Perigord, where he amaſſed money to the utmoſt of his power.

Rome was in the anarchy of popular government: the Colonnas, the Urſini, and the Roman barons, divide the city, and this diviſion is the cauſe of the long abode of the Popes upon the banks of the Rhone; ſo that Rome ſeemed equally loſt to the Popes and the emperors.

Sicily

Sicily remained with the houſe of Arragon: Carobert, king of Hungary, diſputed the kingdom of Naples with his uncle Robert, ſon of Charles II. of the houſe of Anjou.

The houſe of Eſte had eſtabliſhed itſelf at Ferrara; and the Venetians wanted to make themſelves maſters of that country.

The old league of the Italian towns was far from ſubſiſting: it had been made with no other view but to oppoſe the emperors; but ſince theſe had left off coming to Italy, the towns were wholly employed in aggrandizing themſelves at the expence of one another. The Florentines and Genoeſe made war upon the republic of Piſa. Beſides, every town was divided into factions within itſelf: Florence, between the blacks and the whites; and Milan between the Viſcomti and the Turriani.

It was in the midſt of theſe troubles that Henry VII. at length appears in Italy; he cauſed himſelf to be crowned king of Lombardy at Milan: the Guelphs conceal the old iron crown of the Lombard kings, as if the right of reigning were attached to a ſmall iron circlet; the emperor orders a new crown to be made.

The Turriani and the emperor's own chancellor * conſpire againſt his life in Milan; he condemns his chancellor to the flames: moſt of the towns of Lombardy, ſuch as Crema, Cremona, Lodi and Breſcia, refuſe to obey him; he ſubdues them by force, and there is abundance of bloodſhed.

He marches to Rome: Robert, king of Naples, in concert with the Pope, ſhuts the gates againſt him, ordering his brother John, prince of Morea, to march towards Rome with the men of arms and the infantry.

Several towns, namely Florence, Bologna and Lucca, privately aſſociate with Robert: in the mean time, the Pope writes from Lions to the emperor, that he wiſhes

* Who was of the houſe of the Turriani, a Guelph by inclination, and had engaged in the emperor's ſervice on purpoſe to betray him.

wiſhes for nothing ſo much as his coronation; and the king of Naples makes the ſame profeſſion, aſſuring him, that the prince of Morea is at Rome for no other purpoſe, than to eſtabliſh order in the city. Henry VII. preſents himſelf at the gate of the city Leonini, which contains the church of St. Peter; but he is obliged to beſiege it before he can enter; he is defeated, inſtead of being crowned: he negotiates with another part of the city, and deſires he may be crowned in the church of St. John de Lateran: the cardinals oppoſe his demand, ſaying it cannot be done without the permiſſion of the Pope.

The people of that diſtrict eſpouſe the emperor's cauſe, and he is crowned in a tumult by ſome cardinals. Then he orders the lawyers to diſcuſs the queſtion, "Whether or not the Pope can command the emperor in any caſe? and whether the kingdom of Naples holds of the empire or of the holy ſee?" His lawyers fail not to decide it in his favour, and the Pope takes care to have a contrary deciſion by the lawyers of his own party.

We have already ſeen, that it is the deſtiny of the emperors, to want force ſufficient to maintain their dominion at Rome: Henry VII. is 1313. obliged to quit that city. He in vain beſieges Florence, and as vainly ſummons Robert, king of Naples, to appear before him; and no leſs vainly does he put that king to the ban of the empire, as a perſon guilty of treaſon: "Baniſhing him for ever on pain of loſing his head." This decree is dated April 25th.

He iſſues decrees of the ſame nature againſt Florence and Lucca, permitting the inhabitants to be murdered: Winceſlaus, in his madneſs, would not have publiſhed ſuch reſcripts. He orders his brother, the archbiſhop of Triers, to levy troops in Germany: he obtains fifty gallies from the Genoeſe and the Piſans. There is a conſpiracy at Naples in his favour: he entertains the notion of conquering Naples and afterwards Rome; but when ready to depart, he dies near the town of Sienna.

The

The decree againſt the Florentines was an invitation to take him off by poiſon. A Dominican, called Politian de Montepulciano, who gave him the ſacrament, is ſaid to have mixed poiſon in the conſecrated wine. It is difficult to prove ſuch crimes. But the Dominicans did not obtain of his ſon John, king of Bohemia, letters patent declaring their innocence, until thirty years after the emperor's death. It would have been more prudent to have obtained thoſe letters at the very time when people began to accuſe them of this ſacrilegious murder.

An INTERREGNUM of Fourteen Months.

In the laſt years of Henry VII. the Teutonic order aggrandized itſelf, and made conqueſts upon the idolaters and Chriſtians who inhabited the coaſt of the Baltic. They even made themſelves maſters of Dantzick, which they afterwards gave up. They purchaſed the country of Pruſſia, called Pomerania, from a margrave of Brandenburg, in whoſe poſſeſſion it was. While the Teutonic knights became conquerors, the Templars were deſtroyed in Germany, as in other countries; and though they ſupported themſelves ſome years longer towards the Rhine, their order was at laſt entirely aboliſhed.

Pope Clement V. condemns the memory of Henry VII. and declares the oath which that emperor had taken at his coronation to be an oath of fidelity, conſequently the act of a vaſſal doing homage.

1314.

He diſſolves the ſentence which Henry VII. had pronounced againſt the king of Naples, "Becauſe," ſays he juſtly, "king Robert is our vaſſal."

But the Pope adds very aſtoniſhing clauſes to this reaſon: "We have," ſaid he, "the ſuperiority of the empire, and we ſucceed to the emperor during a vacancy, by the full power we have received from Jeſus Chriſt."

By virtue of that pretenſion the Pope created Robert king of Naples vicar of the empire in Italy. Thus the Popes, who feared nothing ſo much as an emperor, were

were themſelves aiding and aſſiſting in perpetuating that dignity, by acknowledging that a vicar was wanted during an interregnum. But they nominated this vicar in order to veſt themſelves with the right of appointing an emperor.

The electors are long divided in Germany. It was already an eſtabliſhed opinion that the right of voting belonged ſolely to the great officers of the houſhold, namely the three eccleſiaſtical chancellors, and the four ſecular princes. Theſe officers had long poſſeſſed the chief influence. They declared the nomination by the majority of votes; and gradually arrogated to themſelves the ſole right of electing.

This is ſo true, that Henry duke of Carinthia, who aſſumed the title of king of Bohemia, diſputed, in that quality alone, the right of elector with John of Luxemburg, ſon of Henry VII. who was in effect king of Bohemia.

John and Rodolphus, dukes of Saxony, who had each a part of that province, pretended to ſhare the rights of elector, and even to be both electors, becauſe both took the appellation of grand-marſhal.

Lewis, duke of Bavaria, the ſame who was emperor, head of the Bavarian branch, wanted to ſhare the right of voting with his eldeſt brother, Rodolphus count palatine.

In that caſe, there would have been ten electors, who repreſented ſeven officers holding the ſeven principal poſts of the empire. Of theſe ten electors, five name Lewis, duke of Bavaria, who adding his own vote, is thus elected by a majority of one.

The other four choſe Frederic, duke of Auſtria, ſon of the emperor Albert; and this duke of Auſtria did not reckon his own vote; an evident proof that Auſtria, as it did not furniſh a great officer, had no right of voting.

LEWIS V.

OR,

LEWIS OF BAVARIA.

THIRTY-SECOND EMPEROR.

LEWIS of Bavaria is reckoned emperor, becauſe he was elected by the majority, but chiefly, becauſe his rival, Frederic *the Fine*, was unfortunate.

1315.

Frederic is conſecrated at Cologne, by the archbiſhop of that place; and Lewis at Aix-la-chapelle, by the archbiſhop of Mentz, who arrogates that privilege to himſelf, although the archbiſhop of Cologne is metropolitan of Aix.

Theſe two conſecrated competitors neceſſarily produce civil wars; and this is the more ſo, becauſe Lewis of Bavaria was uncle to his rival Frederic. Some of the Swiſs cantons already confederated take arms in favour of Lewis of Bavaria; and by theſe means defend their liberty againſt the houſe of Auſtria.

The memorable BATTLE of Mortgat.

If the Swiſs had poſſeſſed the eloquence, as they did the courage of the Athenians, this day would have been as famous as that of Thermopylæ. Sixteen hundred Swiſs, from the cantons of Uri, Schwitz, and Underwald, defeat a formidable army belonging to the duke of Auſtria, at the paſſage of the mountains. The field of the battle of Mortgat is the true cradle of their liberty.

Pope John XXII. reſiding at Avignon and Lyons, like his two predeceſſors, tho' he durſt not ſet foot in Italy, but was obliged to abandon Rome, nevertheleſs declares that the empire depends upon the Roman church, and ſummons the two pretenders to his tribunal. There had been greater revolu-

1316.

tions

tions on the face of the earth, but none more ſingular in the mind of man, than to ſee the ſucceſſors of the Cæſars, who were created on the banks of the Maine, ſubmit the rights which they had not over Rome to a pontiff of Rome created at Avignon. While the kings of Germany pretend to have the right of beſtowing the kingdoms of Europe, the popes pretend to nominate emperors and kings, and the Roman people reject both emperor and pope.

We muſt imagine that Italy was now as much divided as Germany. It was ſtill torn in pieces by the Guelphs and Ghibelins. The Guelphs, 1317. with Robert king of Naples at their head, adhere to Frederic of Auſtria; the Ghibelins were on the ſide of Lewis. The chiefs of this faction are the Viſcomtis of Milan. This houſe eſtabliſhed its own power under the pretext of maintaining that of the emperors. France already intermeddled, though feebly, in the affairs of the Milaneſe.

War between Eric, king of Denmark, and Waldemar, margrave of Brandenburg, who alone ſuppors the war, unaſſiſted by any prince of the empire. When a weak ſtate holds out againſt a ſtronger, we may be aſſured it is governed by a ſuperior man. 1318.

In the courſe of this ſhort quarrel, which was ſoon accommodated, the duke of Lawemburg is made priſoner by the margrave, and redeems himſelf for ſixteen thouſand marks of ſilver. From theſe ranſoms we may nearly gueſs the quantity of ſpecie which then circulated in thoſe countries, where the princes had every thing, and the people almoſt nothing.

The two emperors conſent to decide their moſt important quarrel by thirty champions. An old cuſtom, which chivalry hath ſometimes renewed. 1319.

This combat of fifteen againſt fifteen, fighting man to man, was like that of the Greek and Trojan heroes. It decided nothing*, and was only a prelude to the battle

* They fought with ſuch fury that in a little time they were all ſlain. The battle was fought near Muldorf.

battle which was fought by the two armies after they had been ſpectators of the combat of thirty. Lewis is conqueror in this battle, but his victory is not deciſive.

Philip of Valois, nephew of Philip the Fair, king of France, accepts of pope John XXII. the quality of lieutenant-general of the church againſt the Ghibelins in Italy. Philip of Valois goes thither in hope of eſtabliſhing ſome party among ſo many diviſions. The Viſcomtis find means to make him repaſs the Alps, by ſometimes famiſhing his little army, and ſometimes having recourſe to negotiation. 1320, 1321.

Italy continues divided between Guelphs and Ghibelins, without engaging heartily either for Frederic of Auſtria, or Lewis of Bavaria.

Another battle, which proved deciſive, is fought between the two emperors near Muldorf †, Sept. 28, 1322. The duke of Auſtria is taken, together with his brother Henry, and Ferri, duke of Lorrain. From that day there was but one emperor. 1322.

Leopold of Auſtria, brother of the two priſoners, in vain continues the war.

John of Luxemburg, king of Bohemia, tired of the contradictions he daily underwent in his own country, ſends his ſon to be educated in France, at the court of king Charles the Fair. He exchanges his crown with the emperor for the palatinate of the Rhine. The circumſtance ſeems incredible. The poſſeſſor of the palatinate of the Rhine was Rodolphus of Bavaria, the emperor's own brother. This Rodolphus had embraced the party of Frederic of Auſtria againſt his brother, and the emperor Lewis of Bavaria, who had made himſelf maſter of the palatinate, gains Bohemia by the bargain.

It is not in every country that men may be bought and ſold like cattle. The whole nobleſſe of Bohemia riſe as one man againſt this agreement, which they declare

† This ſecond Battle near Muldorf was fought in the plain of Vechivis, and is commonly diſtinguiſhed by that name. Frederic is ſaid to have killed fifty men with his own hand; and to have continued fighting until he was quite abandoned by his followers.

declare void and injurious, and accordingly it was of no effect; but Rodolphus was left deprived of his palatinate.

An event ſtill more extraordinary happens in Brandenburg. The margrave of that country deſcended from the antient houſe of Aſcania, 1323. quits his margraviate to go in pilgrimage to the Holy Land, leaving his dominions to his brother, who dies in four-and-twenty days after the pilgrim's departure. There was a number of relations capable of ſucceeding. The antient houſe of Saxe-Lawemburg, and that of Anhalt, had pretenſions. The emperor, in order to make all the competitors agree, and without waiting for news of the true poſſeſſor's pilgrimage, reſolved to appropriate to his own family the dominions of Brandenburg, with which he accordingly inveſts his own ſon Lewis.

The emperor takes for his ſecond wife the daughter of the count of Hainault and Holland, who brings him by way of dower theſe two provinces, together with Zealand and Frieſland. No ſtate near the Low Countries was looked upon as a maſculine fief. The emperors did not forget their own houſes while they provided for the good of the empire.

The emperor having vanquiſhed his competitor, has the Pope ſtill to conquer. John XXII. from the banks of the Rhone, did not fail to influence a great part of Italy, and animate the faction of the Guelphs againſt the Ghibelins. He declares the Viſcomtis heretics, and as the emperor favours the Viſcomtis, declares the emperor a favourer of heretics; nay, by a bull dated October 9, he orders Lewis of Bavaria to reſign in three months the adminiſtration of the empire, "for having aſſumed the title of king of the Romans, without waiting until the Pope had examined his election." The emperor contents himſelf with proteſting againſt this bull. As yet he could do no better.

Lewis of Bavaria ſupports the remainder of the war againſt the houſe of Auſtria while he is attacked by the Pope. 1324.

John XXII. by a new bull dated July 15, declares the

the emperor *contumacious*, and deprives him of all right to the empire, if he does not appear before his holineſs by the firſt of October. Lewis of Bavaria publiſhes a reſcript, inviting the church to depoſe the Pope, and appeals to a future council.

Marcilius of Padua and John de Gent, a Franciſcan, come and offer their pens to the emperor againſt the Pope, pretending to prove the holy father an heretic. He actually had very ſingular opinions, which he was obliged to retract.

When we thus ſee the Popes, who are not poſſeſſed even of one town, talk dictatorially to em-
1325. perors, we may eaſily gueſs that their ſole aim is to take the advantage of popular prejudice, and the intereſts of princes. The houſe of Auſtria had ſtill a party in Germany, although the head of it was in priſon; and it is only at the head of a party that a bull can be dangerous.

Alſace, for example, and the county of Meſſin, held for that houſe. The emperor made an alliance with his priſoner, the duke of Lorrain, the archbiſhop of Triers, and the count de Bar, in order to take Mentz. This city was actually taken, and paid about forty thouſand livres tournois to its conquerors.

Frederic of Auſtria being ſtill in priſon, the Pope reſolves to give the empire to Charles the Fair, king of France. It would have been natural for a Pope to name an emperor in Italy. It was thus they proceeded with regard to Charlemagne; but long cuſtom prevailed, and it was neceſſary that Germany ſhould make the election. Some German princes are gained over to the intereſt of the king of France, who were to meet him at Bar-ſur-aube. The king of France goes thither, and finds nobody but Leopold of Auſtria.

The king of France goes home again, very much chagrined at his own miſconduct. Leopold of Auſtria, finding himſelf without reſource, ſends the lance, ſword, and crown of Charlemagne, to Lewis of Bavaria. Public opinion ſtill attached to theſe ſymbols a certain right which confirmed that of election.

Lewis of Bavaria at length releaſes his priſoner, and makes

makes him ſign a renunciation of the empire for the life of Lewis. It is pretended that Frederic of Auſtria ſtill preſerved the title of king of the Romans.

Leopold of Auſtria dies. It muſt be obſerved, that, in ſpite of the laws, the conſtant cuſtom was, that the great fiefs ſhould ſtill be divided among the heirs. Thirty children would have divided the ſame eſtate into thirty parts, and all of them bore the ſame title. All the male deſcendents of Rodolphus of Hapſbourg bore the name of dukes of Auſtria. 1326.

Leopold had enjoyed for his ſhare, Alſace, Swiſſerland, Suabia, and the Briſgau. His brothers diſputed this inheritance with one another; and at length choſe John of Luxemburg, king of Bohemia, for auſtregue or arbiter.

At length Lewis of Bavaria goes to Italy, in order to head the Ghibelins, and the Pope from afar animates the Guelphs againſt him. The old quarrel between the empire and papacy is renewed with great fury. 1327.

Lewis marches at the head of a ſmall army to Milan, and is accompanied by a croud of Franciſcan friers. Theſe monks were excommunicated by pope John XXII. for having maintained that their cowl ought to be more pointed, and that their victuals and drink did not peculiarly belong to them.

The ſame Franciſcans treated the pope as a damned heretic, for his opinion touching the beatific viſion.

The emperor is crowned king of Lombardy at Milan, not by the archbiſhop, who refuſes to perform the ceremony, but by the biſhop of Arezzo.

As ſoon as that prince prepares for going to Rome, the faction of the Guelphs preſs the Pope to return to that city. But his holineſs dares not go thither, ſo much is he afraid of the Ghibelin party, and the emperor.

The Piſans offer the emperor ſixty thouſand livres, provided he will not paſs through their city in his march to Rome. Lewis of Bavaria beſieges Piſa, and at the end of three days compels them to give him an addition of thirty thouſand livres, to ſtay there no longer

longer than two months. Hiſtorians ſay, they were livres of gold; but in that caſe the whole would have been equal to ſix millions of German crowns, a ſum more eaſily produced in writing, than in actual payment.

A new bull is publiſhed by John XXII. dated at Avignon, Oct. 23. "We reprobate the ſaid Lewis as an heretic. We ſtrip the ſaid Lewis of all his eſtate, moveable and immoveable, of the palatinate of the Rhine, and of all right to the empire; and we forbid all perſons whatſoever to ſupply the ſaid Lewis with corn, linen, wine, wood, &c.

The emperor's hereſy conſiſted in his going to Rome.

Lewis of Bavaria is crowned at Rome, without taking the oath of fidelity. The famous Caſtruccio
1328. Caſtracani, tyrant of Lucca, at firſt created by the emperor count of the palace of the Lateran, and governor of Rome, conducts him to St. Peter's with the four chief Roman barons, Coſonna, Urſini, Savelli, and Conti.

Lewis is conſecrated by a biſhop of Venice, aſſiſted by a biſhop of Aleria, both excommunicated by the Pope. There was little diſturbance in Rome at this coronation.

April 18, the emperor holds a general aſſembly, where he preſides, cloathed with the imperial mantle, the crown upon his head, and the ſceptre in his hand. One Nicholas Fabriano, an Auguſtin monk, there accuſes the Pope, and aſks, "If any one preſent has a mind to defend the prieſt of Cahors, who calls himſelf pope John." The order of Auguſtines was doomed to produce one day a man much more dangerous to the Popes*.

Then the ſentence was read, by which the emperor depoſes the Pope. "We will, ſays he, follow the example of Otho I. who, with the clergy and people of Rome, depoſed pope John XII. &c. We depoſe from the ſee of Rome James de Cahors, convicted of hereſy and treaſon, &c."

Young Colonna, ſecretly attached to the Pope, publiſhes

* Namely, Martin Luther.

liſhes his oppoſition in Rome, by fixing it to the church-door, and betakes himſelf to flight.

At length Lewis pronounces ſentence of death upon the Pope, and even upon the king of Naples who had accepted of the Pope the vicariate of the empire in Italy. He condemns both to be burnt alive. Extravagant reſentment often becomes ridiculous. May 22, he by his own authority elevates to the papal chair Peter Reinalucci, of the town of Corbiero, or Corbario, a Dominican, and makes the Roman people agree to his exaltation. Inſtead of kiſſing his feet, he inveſts him by the ring, and cauſes himſelf to be crowned again by this new pontiff.

That which happens to all the emperors ſince the Othos, happened to Lewis of Bavaria. The Romans conſpire againſt him. The king of Naples arrives with troops at the gates of Rome. The emperor and his pope are obliged to fly with precipitation.

The emperor takes ſhelter in Piſa, which, however, he is obliged to quit. He returns without an army to Bavaria, accompanied by two Fran- 1329.
ciſcans, called Michael de Ceſena and William of Ockam, who wrote againſt the Pope. The antipope, Peter de Corbiero, ſculks from town to town.

Robert, king of Naples, reduces Rome, and ſeveral cities of Italy, under the domination, or rather the protection of the Pope.

The Viſcomtis, who are ſtill powerful in Milan, abondon the emperor, who can no longer protect them, and eſpouſe the party of John XXII. who, though ſtill a refugee at Avignon, ſeems to give laws to Europe, and actually gives them, when theſe laws are executed by the ſtrong againſt the weak.

Lewis of Bavaria, while at Pavia, makes a memorable treaty with his nephew Robert, ſon of Rodolphus, elector palatine, who died an exile in England, and from whom the whole palatine branch is deſcended. By this treaty he divides with his nephew the lands of the palatine houſe; he reſtores to him the palatinate of the Rhine, and the High Palatinate, and keeps Bavaria for himſelf. He ſtipulates that after the extinction of one

of

of the houſes of Palatine and Bavaria, which come from the ſame common ſtock, the ſurvivor ſhall enter into poſſeſſion of all the lands and dignities of the other; and in the mean time the vote in the election of emperors ſhall belong alternately to the two houſes. The right of voting, thus granted to the houſe of Bavaria, was not of long duration; but the quarrel occaſioned by this agreement between the two houſes was of longer continuance.

Pope Peter of Corbiero, concealed in the caſtle of Italy, and ſurrounded by ſoldiers ſent thither by the archbiſhop of Piſa, begs pardon of John XXII. who promiſes to ſpare his life, and give him a penſion of three thouſand florins of gold for his ſubſiſtence. 1330.

This pope friar Peter goes, with a rope about his neck, and preſents himſelf before the Pope, who ſends him to priſon, where he dies in leſs than three years. It is not known whether or not he had ſtipulated that he ſhould not be impriſoned.

Chriſtopher, king of Denmark, is depoſed by the ſtates of the country, and has recourſe to the empire. The dukes of Saxony, Mecklenbourg, and Pomerania, are appointed by the emperor, to try and decide this cauſe between that prince and his ſubjects.

This was a revival of the emperor's right over Denmark, which had been extinct. But Gerard, count of Holſtein, regent of the kingdom, would not acknowledge the commiſſion. King Chriſtopher, with the forces of thoſe princes, and the aſſiſtance of the margrave of Brandenburg, expels the regent, and reaſcends the throne.

Lewis of Bavaria wants to be reconciled to the Pope, and ſends an embaſſy to him for that purpoſe. John XXII. by way of anſwer, commands the king of Bohemia to dethrone the emperor.

John, king of Bohemia, inſtead of obeying the Pope, joins the emperor, and marches to Italy with an army, as vicar of the empire. Having reduced Cremona, Parma, Pavia, and Modena, he is tempted to keep them for himſelf, and with 1331.

this

this view unites himſelf privately with the Pope. The Guelphs and Ghibelins, alarmed at this union, join againſt John XXII. and John, king of Bohemia.

The emperor, dreading ſuch a dangerous vicar, excites againſt him Otho of Auſtria, brother of that very Frederic who was his rival for the empire; ſo much are intereſts varied in a little time.

He inſtigates the marquis of Miſnia, and Carobert king of Hungary, and even Poland itſelf. A plain proof that he could then do very little of himſelf. The empire was ſeldom weaker than at this very period. But Germany, in the midſt of all theſe troubles, is ſtill reſpected by ſtrangers, and ſtill uninvaded.

The king of Bohemia, on his return to Germany, defeats all his enemies, one after another. He leaves his ſon Charles vicar in Italy, in ſpite of Lewis of Bavaria, and he himſelf marches into Poland. John, king of Bohemia, was then the real emperor, by means of his power.

The Guelphs and Ghibelins, notwithſtanding their mutual antipathy, join in Italy againſt prince Charles of Bohemia. The king his father being victor in Germany, paſſes the Alps to ſupport his ſon. He arrives juſt when that prince had obtained a ſignal victory near Tirol, Nov. 25.

He re-enters Prague in triumph with his ſon, and gives him the march, or marquiſate, or margraviate of Moravia, for which he exacts liege homage.

The Pope continues to employ religion for the ſucceſs of his intrigues. Otho, duke of Auſtria, gained over by him, quits the emperor's party, and being cajoled by the monks, ſubmits his dominions to the holy ſee, declaring himſelf a vaſſal of Rome. What a conjuncture was this, when ſuch an action was neither puniſhed nor abhorred! 1332.

This was indeed a time of anarchy. The king of Bohemia renders himſelf formidable to the emperor, and endeavours to eſtabliſh his credit in Germany. He and his ſon had obtained victories in Italy, but they were not at all deciſive. All Italy was in arms. Ghibelins againſt Guelphs, and both againſt the Germans;

all the towns agreed in their hatred to Germany, and all of them made war upon one another, inſtead of uniting to break their chains for ever.

During theſe troubles, the Teutonic order continues ſtill a body of conquerors towards Ruſſia. The Poles take ſome of their towns; and John, king of Bohemia, marches to their aſſiſtance. He penetrates as far as Cracovia. He appeaſes the troubles in Sileſia. At that time he made all Europe tremble, being maſter of Bohemia, Sileſia, and Moravia.

Straſburg, Fribourg in Briſgau, and Baſil, unite in theſe troubleſome times againſt the neighbouring tyrants; and ſeveral other towns join in the aſſociation. The neighbourhood of four Swiſs Cantons become free, inſpire thoſe people with ſentiments of liberty.

Otho of Auſtria beſieges Colmar, which is ſupported againſt him by the emperor. The count of Wirtemberg, and the king of Bohemia, furniſh the emperor with troops. We ſee on both ſides an army of thirty thouſand men, but this for one campaigne only. The emperor was then no more than any other prince of Germany, who uſes his friends againſt his enemies. What would have been the caſe, if the whole had united in order to ſubdue all Italy in an effectual manner?

But Germany is ingroſſed by nothing but internal quarrels. The duke of Auſtria reconciles himſelf to the emperor. The face of affairs continually changes, and the miſery of the people continues.

We have ſeen John, king of Bohemia, fighting for the emperor; now behold him in arms for
1333. the Pope. We have ſeen Robert, king of Naples, the Pope's defender; now he is his enemy. The ſame king of Bohemia, who had beſieged Cracovia, goes to Italy, in concert with the king of France, to eſtabliſh the Pope's power in that country. Thus men are led about by ambition.

What is the conſequence? He gives battle, near Ferrara, to Robert, king of Naples, united with the Viſcomtis and the Eſcales, princes of Verona. He is twice

twice defeated, and returns to Germany, after having loſt his troops, his money and his reputation.

Troubles and wars in Brabant, on account of the property of Mechlin, which the duke of Brabant and the count of Flanders diſpute with each other. The king of Bohemia intermeddles again. An accommodation is effected, and Mechlin remains with the count of Flanders.

Mean while, the emperor Lewis of Bavaria lives quietly at Munich, and ſeems to meddle no more with any affairs whatſoever. 1334.

Pope John XXII. being more reſtleſs, ſtill ſolicits the German princes to riſe againſt Lewis of Bavaria: and the Franciſcans, who ſided with Michael de Ceſena, being condemned by the Pope, preſs the emperor to aſſemble a council to declare the Pope heretic, and depoſe him accordingly.

The emperor is more ſpeedily revenged by death than by a council. John XXII. dies at Avignon, December 2, in the ninetieth year of his age.

Villani pretends that in his treaſury was found the value of five and twenty millions of gold florins, eighteen millions of which were in ſpecie. "I know it, ſays Villani, from my brother Romona, who was the Pope's banker." We may boldly anſwer Villani, that his brother was a great exaggerator. That ſum would have been equal to about two hundred millions of German crowns of theſe days. At that time ſuch a ſum would have purchaſed all Italy, and yet John XXII. never ſet foot in that country. In vain did he add a third crown to the pontifical Tiara; he was not the more powerful on that account. True it is, he ſold a great number of benefices; he invented annats, reſerves, and reverſions, and ſet a price upon diſpenſations and abſolutions. All theſe expedients are much more ineffectual than one would imagine, and produce a great deal more ſcandal than money; the exactors of ſuch tributes generally pay but a very ſmall ſhare to their employers.

One thing worthy of obſervation is, that he had ſome ſcruples on his death-bed about the manner in

which he had affirmed God to be ſeen in Heaven: but he had none about the treaſures he had amaſſed upon earth.

Old king John of Luxemburg marries a young princeſs of the houſe of France, and Bourbon branch, and by the contract of marriage ſettles the duchy of Luxemburg upon the ſon of the marriage. Almoſt all the clauſes of contracts are ſo many ſeeds of war.

1335.

Here is another marriage which produces a war, almoſt as ſoon as it is conſummated. The old king of Bohemia had a ſecond ſon, called John of Luxemburg, duke of Carinthia. The young prince took the title of duke of Carinthia, becauſe his wife had pretenſions to that duchy. That princeſs of Carinthia, called Margaret Great Mouth, pretends that her huſband, John of Luxemburg, is impotent. She finds a biſhop of Friſingen who diſſolves the marriage without formalities, and ſhe gives herſelf in marriage to the marquis of Brandenburg.

Intereſt has as great a ſhare as love in this adultery. The margrave of Brandenburg was ſon of the emperor Lewis of Bavaria. Margaret Great Mouth brought him Tirol by way of dower, together with her claim upon Carinthia: thus the emperor made no difficulty of taking this lady from the prince of Bohemia, and giving her to his ſon of Brandenburg. This marriage excites a war that laſts a whole year, and after abundance of bloodſhed the parties come to a very ſingular accommodation; namely, that young John of Luxemburg ſhall confeſs his wife had reaſon to forſake him, and approve of her marriage with the emperor's ſon of Brandenburg. A petty war waged by the Straſburgers againſt the gentlemen of the neighbourhood. Straſburg acts as a real independent republic, except that the biſhop frequently put himſelf at the head of troops in order to make the citizens dependent upon the ſee.

Abundance of negotiations are begun in Germany, for the famous war which Edward III. king of England, meditated againſt Philip de Valois. The buſineſs was to know who ſhould be poſſeſſor of France.

1336, 1337.

True

True it is, that country, much more confined than it is at preſent, weakened by the diviſions of the feudal government, and without any conſiderable maritime trade, was not the greateſt theatre of Europe, though always an object of great importance.

Philip de Valois on one ſide, and Edward on the other, endeavour to engage the German princes in their quarrel; but the Engliſhman ſeems to have played his part better than the Frenchman. Philip de Valois has the king of Bohemia for his ally; and Edward has all the princes that border upon France. In particular he has the emperor on his ſide; though indeed he got nothing from him, except letters patent, but theſe create him vicar of the empire. The proud Edward willingly conſents to exerciſe that vicariate, in hope of ſeeing the war againſt France declared the war of the empire. His commiſſion imports that he may coin money in all the territories of the empire; nothing more evidently proves that ſecret reſpect which all Europe had for the imperial dignity.

While Edward ſtrengthens himſelf with the temporal forces of Germany, Philip de Valois tries to put in action the ſpiritual forces of the Pope, which were then of little ſignification.

Pope Benedict XI. ſtill reſiding at Avignon, like his predeceſſors, was wholly dependent on the king of France.

It muſt be remembered, that the emperor, who never received abſolution from the Pope, continued ſtill in a ſtate of excommunication, and deprived of all his rights, in the vulgar opinion of thoſe times.

Philip de Valois, who could do any thing with a pope of Avignon, forces Benedict XI. to delay the abſolution of the emperor. Thus the authority of a prince often directs the pontifical miniſtry, and that miniſtry rouſes other princes in its turn. There is one Henry, duke of Bavaria, related to Lewis the emperor, and ſtill, according to cuſtom, taking the title of duke, without having the duchy, though he poſſeſſed part of Lower Bavaria. This Henry by deputation aſks pardon of the Pope for having acknowledged his kinſman em-

peror. This meanneſs produces none of thoſe revolutions which were expected from it in the empire.

Pope Benedict XI. owns he is hindered by Philip de
1338. Valois, king of France, from reconciling the emperor Lewis to the church. We ſee how almoſt all the popes have been no more than the inſtruments of a foreign power. They frequently reſembled the gods of the Indians, from whom their adorers demand rain upon their knees, but when theſe prayers are not heard, their godſhips are ducked in the river.

There is a great aſſembly of the princes of the empire at Rens upon the Rhine, where they declare what there ought to have been no occaſion for declaring, "that he who has been choſen by the majority is the true emperor; that the Pope's confirmation is altogether unneceſſary; that the Pope is ſtill leſs intitled to the right of depoſing the emperor, and that the contrary opinion is high treaſon.

This declaration paſſes into a perpetual law, on the 8th day of Auguſt at Frankfort.

Albert of Auſtria, at firſt ſurnamed the Counterfeit, and afterwards the Sage, one of the brothers of Frederic of Auſtria who had diſputed the empire, and the only one of all his brothers, by whom the Auſtrian race is perpetuated, attacks the Swiſs again without ſucceſs. Theſe people who have no riches but liberty, always defend it with unſhaken courage. Albert miſcarries in his enterprize; in abandoning which, he deſerves the name of Sage.

Lewis the emperor thinks of nothing but living
1339. quietly at Munich, while his vicar, Edward king of England, engages fifty princes of the empire in the war againſt Philip de Valois, and goes to conquer part of France. But before the end of the campaign all thoſe princes go home; and Edward aſſiſted by the Flemings, purſues his ambitious aim.

The emperor who had formerly repented of giving
1340. the vicariate of Italy, to a powerful and warlike king of Bohemia, repents again of having given the vicariate of Germany to a more powerful and more warlike monarch. The emperor was the penſioner

penſioner of his vicar; and the proud Engliſhman acting the maſter and neglecting to pay the penſion, Lewis deprives him of the vicariate, which was become a very uſeleſs title.

The emperor negotiates with Philip de Valois. Mean while the imperial authority is quite annihilated in Italy, notwithſtanding the perpetual law of Frankfort.

The pope by his own private authority grants to the two brothers Viſcomtis, the government of Milan, which they had without his confirmation, and makes them vicars of the Roman church. They had formerly been imperial vicars.

King John of Bohemia goes to Montpelier to be cured by the ſalubrity of the air, of a diſtemper which had attacked his eyes. Nevertheleſs he loſes his eyeſight, and is afterwards known by the name of John the Blind. He makes his will, by which he leaves Bohemia and Sileſia to Charles afterwards emperor, Moravia to John, and to Winceſlaus born of Beatrice de Bourbon, he leaves Luxemburg and the lands he poſſeſſed in France in right of his wife.

In the mean time the emperor enjoys the glory of deciding as arbiter in the quarrels of the houſe of Denmark. The Duke of Sleſwic Holſtein by this accommodation renounces his pretenſions to the kingdom of Denmark: he gives his ſiſter in marriage to king Waldemar III. and remains in poſſeſſion of Jutland.

Lewis of Bavaria ſeems to have forgotten Italy, and gives tournaments at Munich.

The new pope Clement VI. born a Frenchman and reſiding at Avignon, is at length ſolicited to go and re-eſtabliſh the pontificate in Italy, and there complete the annihilation of the imperial authority. He follows the foot-ſteps of John XXII. in his proceedings againſt Lewis. He ſolicits the archbiſhop of Triers to cauſe a new emperor to be elected in Germany. He privately ſtirs up againſt him the king of Bohemia, John the Blind, ſtill reſtleſs, together with the duke of Saxony and Albert of Auſtria. 1341, 1342, 1343.

Lewis the emperor, who has ſtill reaſon to fear that

the want of abſolution may arm the princes of the empire againſt him, flatters the Pope whom he deteſts, and writes to him, "that he ſubmits his perſon, dominions, liberty and titles, to the diſpoſition of his holineſs:" what expreſſions are theſe, to come from an emperor who had condemned John XXII. to be burnt alive.

The princes aſſembled at Frankfort are not ſo complaiſant, and maintain the rights of the empire.

John the Blind ſeems to have become more ambitious ſince the loſs of his eye-ſight; on one ſide, he wants to pave the way for his ſon Charles; on the other hand he makes war upon Caſimir king of Poland, for the dependence of the duchy of Schweidnitz in Sileſia. 1344, 1345.

This is the ordinary effect of the feudal eſtabliſhment. The duke of Schweidnitz had done homage to the king of Poland: John of Bohemia reclaims the homage in quality of duke of Sileſia: the emperor privately ſupports the intereſt of the Pole, but in ſpite of the emperor, the war is ſucceſsful to the houſe of Luxemburg. Prince Charles of Luxemburg, marquis of Moravia, ſon of John the Blind, being a widower, marries the niece of the duke of Schweidnitz, who does homage to Bohemia; and this is a new confirmation of Sileſia's being annexed to the crown of Bohemia.

The empreſs Margaret, wife of the emperor Lewis of Bavaria, and ſiſter of John of Brabant, finds herſelf heireſs of Holland, Zealand and Frieſland, and enjoys the ſucceſſion: the emperor her huſband ought to have been much more powerful by means of this acquiſition, and yet he is not.

At this period, Robert count Palatine founds the univerſity of Heidelberg, on the model of that of Paris.

John the Blind, and his ſon Charles make a great party in the empire in the Pope's name. 1346.

The imperial and papal factions at length diſturb Germany, as the Guelphs and Ghibelins had troubled Italy. Clement VII. takes advantage of theſe diſorders: he

he publiſhes a bull againſt Lewis of Bavaria, dated April 13th. "May the curſe of God, ſays he, and that of St. Peter and St. Paul, light upon him in this world, as well as in the next; may the earth open and ſwallow him alive; may his memory periſh, and all the elements be his foes; and may his children fall into the hands of his enemies, even before the eyes of their father."

There was no precedent for ſuch bulls; they depended intirely on the caprice of the dataary by whom they were expedited: the caprice on this occaſion, is a little violent.

There were at that time two archbiſhops of Mentz, one vainly depoſed by the Pope; the other elected at his inſtigation, by part of the canons: it was to this laſt, that Clement VII. addreſſes another bull, for the election of the emperor.

John the Blind, king of Bohemia, and his ſon Charles, marquis of Moravia, who was afterwards the emperor Charles IV. go to Avignon, to bargain for the empire with Clement VI. Charles engages to annul all the decrees of Lewis of Bavaria, to acknowledge that the county of Avignon rightfully belonged to the holy ſee, as well as Ferrara and the other territories, (he meant thoſe of the counteſs Mathilda) the kingdoms of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corſica, and Rome in particular; and that in caſe the emperor ſhould go to Rome to be crowned, he ſhould quit the city the ſame day, and never return without the expreſs permiſſion of the Pope, &c.

After theſe promiſes, Clement VI. recommends it to the archbiſhops of Cologne and Triers, and to the new archbiſhop of Mentz, to elect the marquis of Moravia as emperor: theſe three prelates, with John the Blind, aſſemble at Rens near Coblentz, July 1, and elect Charles of Luxemburg, marquis of Moravia, who was known by the name of Charles IV.

Father Maimbourg poſitively affirms, that he bought the vote of the archbiſhop of Cologne, for eight thouſand marks of ſilver, and he adds that the duke of Saxony who was richer, *gave his vote at a cheaper rate, contenting himſelf with two thouſand marks.*

1. What father Maimbourg affirms, is related only as an hearſay by Cuſpinian.

2. How could theſe ſecret bargains be diſcovered.

3. This is certainly a fine proof of the diſintereſted conduct of the duke of Saxony, to diſgrace himſelf for the paltry conſideration of two thouſand marks only, becauſe he is rich; the circumſtance of being rich, is preciſely the reaſon for a man's ſelling himſelf at a higher price, provided he is reſolved to ſell himſelf to the beſt bidder.

4. Will common ſenſe allow us to believe, that Charles IV. would buy ſo dear an uncertain title and a certain civil war?

Although Germany was divided, the party of Lewis of Bavaria is ſo much the ſtronger, that the new emperor and his old father, inſtead of ſupporting their claim in Germany, go to fight in France, for Philip de Valois againſt Edward of England.

Old king John of Bohemia is killed in the famous battle of Creci *, won by the Engliſh, on the 25th or 26th day of Auguſt. Charles returns to Bohemia, deſtitute of troops and money: he is the firſt king of Bohemia who cauſed himſelf to be crowned by the archbiſhop of Prague; and it was in conſequence of this coronation, that the ſee of Prague, hitherto ſuffragan of Mentz, was erected into an archbiſhopric.

Then Lewis of Bavaria and the anti-emperor, make
1347. war upon one another: Charles of Luxemburg is every where defeated.

A very ſingular ſcene was at this period exhibited in Italy: Nicholas Rienzi notary at Rome, an eloquent, bold, inſinuating man, ſeeing Rome abandoned by the emperors and Popes, who durſt not return, had been choſen tribune of the people; he reigned ſome months with abſolute power; but the people, who had raiſed, ſoon deſtroyed this idol: a long time had elapſed ſince Rome was rendered unfit for tribunes: but we ſtill ſee that

* His creſt and motto, which were three Oſtrich Feathers, and the words *ich dien*, ſignifying *I ſerve*, were adopted by Edward the Black prince, and became the bearings of all ſucceeding princes of Wales.

that antient love of liberty produce divers ſhocks, and quarrel with its chains. Rienzi intitled himſelf, *The candid knight of the Holy-Ghoſt, the ſevere tho' merciful deliverer of Rome, the zealous ſtickler for the liberty of Italy, lover of the univerſe and auguſt tribune*: theſe fine titles prove him to have been an enthuſiaſt, and conſequently capable of ſeducing the loweſt claſs of the people, but altogether unworthy to command men of ſpirit and underſtanding: he in vain attempted to imitate Gracchus, as Creſcentius had before vainly attempted to imitate Brutus.

Certain it is, Rome was then a republic, tho' very weak, as having nothing of the antient Roman republic, but party and faction; all its glory conſiſted in its antient name.

It is difficult to determine, whether or not any times had been more unfortunate, from the inundations of the barbarians to the fifth century: the Popes were driven from Rome; all Germany was harraſſed with civil war; Italy was torn in pieces by the Guelphs and Ghibelins; Jane queen of Naples, after having ſtrangled her huſband, underwent the ſame fate; Edward III. ruined France, over which he wanted to reign; and laſtly, the plague, as we ſhall ſee, deſtroyed a great part of thoſe who had eſcaped famine and the ſword.

Lewis of Bavaria dies of an apoplexy near Augſburg, on the eleventh day of October: others alledge he was poiſoned by a ducheſs of Auſtria; Andrew the prieſt, and others, pretend this ducheſs of Auſtria was the ſame called Great Mouth; but Andrew the prieſt does not conſider that Margaret the Great Mouth is the very ſame who had quitted her huſband for the emperor's ſon. The hiſtorians of thoſe days muſt have entertained a great hatred to princes; for they cauſe almoſt all of them to be poiſoned: one Hocſemius expreſſes himſelf to this effect; "The damned Bavarian emperor dies of poiſon, adminiſtered by the ducheſs of Oſtrogotia or Auſtria, wife of duke Albert." Struvius tells us, he was ſaid to be poiſoned by the ducheſs of Auſtria, called Anne: here then are three pretended different ducheſſes of Auſtria, accuſed of that death without the leaſt probability:

probability: in this manner was hiſtory heretofore written: by reading father Barrê, one would believe that Lewis of Bavaria was poiſoned by a fourth princeſs called Maultaſch; but this is becauſe in the German language, Maultaſch ſignifies, great mouth or wry mouth; and this princeſs is that individual Margaret, who was the emperor's daughter-in-law.

He intitled himſelf Lewis IV. and not Lewis V. becauſe he did not reckon Lewis IV. ſirnamed the Infant among the emperors.

It was he who gave occaſion to invent the eagle with two heads: there were two eagles in his ſeals; and the two heads of the eagle preſerved almoſt always ſince this period, ſuppoſe two bodies alſo, one of which is concealed by the other. The caprice of artiſts hath determined almoſt all the armorial bearings of ſovereign princes.

CHARLES IV.

Thirty-third Emperor.

CHARLES of Luxemburg * king of Bohemia, goes forthwith from town to town, in order to get himſelf acknowledged emperor.

1348. Lewis, margrave of Brandenburg diſputes the crown with him.

The old archbiſhop of Mentz excommunicates him: the count Palatine Rupert and the duke of Saxony join, not inclining to acknowledge either pretender: they annul the election of Charles of Bohemia, and name Edward III. king of England, who had no notion of it.

The empire was now no more than a burdenſome title, ſince the ambitious Edward refuſed it; not chooſing to interrupt his conqueſts in France, to run after a ſhadow. On

* He was chriſtened Winceſlaus, but afterwards received the name of Charles, from Charles the Fair of France, at whoſe court he was educated.

On the refuſal of Edward the electors addreſſed themſelves to the marquis of Miſnia, a relation of the deceaſed emperor. He alſo declined it. Mutius ſays, he preferred ten thouſand marks of ſilver, received from the hands of Charles IV. to the imperial crown. This is rating the empire at a very poor price; but it is very doubtful that Charles IV. had ten thouſand marks to beſtow; he who was, at the ſame time, arreſted at Worms* by his butcher; a debt which he could no otherwiſe pay, than by borrowing money of the biſhop.

The electors refuſed on every ſide, at laſt offer the empire, with which no perſons ſeem willing to meddle, to Gunther of Schwartzburg, a noble Thuringian. This man, who was a warrior, and had little to loſe, accepted the offer, to maintain it at the point of his ſword.

The electors chuſe Gunther of Schwartzburg near Frankfort; the too frequent double elections had introduced a ſingular cuſtom at Frankfort. 1349. The firſt of the competitors that appeared before the place, waited ſix weeks and three days; after which he was received and acknowledged, provided there was no news of his competitor. Gunther waited the appointed time, after which he made his entry †; much was expected from him. They pretend that his rival cauſed him to be poiſoned. The German poiſon of thoſe times, was feaſting to exceſs‡. Gunther becomes apoplectic and

* Charles met with divers affronts. The citizens of Nuremberg drove him out of the place, and opened their gates to Lewis of Brandenburg. At Rottenburg on the Neckar, he preſented himſelf in a tournament under the name of Schlhard of Richburg, and was unhorſed by one de la Prive, to whom he was obliged to pay the forfeit.

† He was obliged to beſiege the place with an army raiſed by the electors for that purpoſe.

‡ Father Borre ſays, he was poiſoned by a phyſician whoſe name was Fredank, ſuppoſed to be bribed by Charles. When he preſented the medicine to the emperor, he was ordered to ſwallow part of it, and obeyed; upon which Gunther took the remainder; but obſerving the Phyſician's countenance beginning to change, he ſuſpected the treachery, and endeavoured by vomits to expel the poiſon, which therefore had not an immediate effect. As for Fredank, he died in three days.

and incapable of the throne; and ſells it for a ſum of money, which Charles never pays him. It was ſaid to be twenty-two thouſand marks. He died at Frankfort in about three months.

As for Lewis of Bavaria, margrave of Brandenburg, he gives up his rights for nothing, not being ſufficiently ſtrong to ſell them to Charles IV. who gets the better of the four competitors without fighting, and cauſes himſelf to be crowned a ſecond time at Aix-la-chapelle by the archbiſhop of Cologne, to put the title out of diſpute.

The marquis of Juliers diſputes the right of bearing the ſword, at the coronation ceremony with the marquis of Brandenburg. Anceſtors of the marquis of Juliers had performed that office. But this prince did not rank then with the electors, conſequently not with the great officers. The marquis of Brandenburg is maintained in his right.

A plague more memorable than that which depopulated the earth in the time of Hippocrates, was now ſeverely felt all over Europe; and ſwept away almoſt every where above one-fifth of the inhabitants; the Germans as headſtrong as ignorant accuſe the Jews of having poiſoned their fountains, and every where burn and deſtroy them*.

1350.

What is wonderful is, that Charles IV. protected the Jews that paid him, againſt the biſhop and citizens of Straſburg; the abbot prince of Mourbac and other lords; he was ready to make war with them in favour of the Jews.

The ſect of Flagellants revive in Suabia; they are large companies of men who traverſe all Germany, whipping themſelves with cords knotted with iron, to drive away the plague. The antient Romans in like circumſtances inſtituted comedies; the milder remedy of the two.

An

* At Straſburg, the populace headed by a butcher, depoſed the magiſtracy, and inveſted their chief with an abſolute power. He cauſed two thouſand Jews to be burned alive, confiſcated their effects, and decreed, that no individuals of that nation ſhould be admitted into Strasburg for the term of one hundred years.

An impoſtor appears in Brandenburg, who calls himſelf the antient Waldemar returned from the holy land; who pretends to retake poſſeſſion of his eſtate unjuſtly given, during his abſence, by Lewis of Bavaria to his ſon Lewis †.

The duke of Mecklinburg ſupports the impoſtor; the emperor Charles IV. countenances him. A ſlight war entues; the pretended Waldemar is abandoned and eclipſed.

Charles IV. is willing to go into Italy, where both popes and emperors are forgotten. The Viſcomti rule in the mean time at Milan. 1351. John Viſcomti archbiſhop of that town, becomes a conqueror. He ſeizes Bologna; makes war upon the Florentines and Piſans, holding in equal contempt the emperor and the pope. It was he who compoſed the letter from the devil to the pope and cardinals beginning, "Your mother Pride greets you, together with your ſiſters Avarice and Immodeſty."

The devil in all likelihood managed the agreement between John Viſcomti and pope Clement, who ſold him the inveſtiture of Milan for twelve years, at twelve thouſand golden florins a year.

The houſe of Auſtria has always demands on great part of Swiſſerland: the duke Albert intends the conqueſt of Zurich, which allies itſelf 1352. with the other cantons already confederated. The emperor aſſiſts the houſe of Auſtria in this war, like a man who wiſhed it not to ſucceed. He ſends troops not to fight; or rather who don't fight. The union and liberty of the Swiſs are their defence.

The imperial towns incline to eſtabliſh popular government in imitation of Strasburg: Nuremberg drives out his nobles, but Charles IV. reſtores them. He joins Luſatia to his kingdom of Bohemia; it has ſince been divided from it.

The emperor Charles IV. while he was the young prince

† The impoſtor had been groom to the marquis, reſembled him in perſon, and imitated his deportment.

prince of Bohemia, had gained battles even againſt the pope's intereſt in Italy. Since he has come
1353. to the imperial throne, he ſearches for relics, flatters the popes; employs himſelf in making laws, but his chief care is the firm eſtabliſhment of his houſe.

He comes to an accommodation with the children of Lewis of Bavaria, and reconciles them to the pope.

Albert duke of Bavaria ſaw himſelf excommunicated becauſe his father had been ſo; wherefore, to prevent the piety of ſuch princes as might think themſelves entitled, by virtue of his excommunication, to ſtrip him of his dominions, he humbly aſked pardon of the new pope Innocent VI. for the injuries done to the emperor his father by the preceding popes. He ſigned an act beginning thus: "I Albert duke of Bavaria, ſon of Lewis of Bavaria, formerly ſtiling himſelf Emperor, and cenſured by the holy Roman Church," &c.

It don't appear that he was forced to this ſervile ſubmiſſion; ſo that he muſt, at that time, either have had little honour or much ſuperſtition.

It is remarkable that Charles IV. paſſing through Mentz, in the way to his eſtates in Luxem-
1354. burg, was not received as emperor, becauſe he had not yet been conſecrated.

Henry VII. had already given to Winceſlaus lord of Luxemburg the title of Duke. Charles erects it into a duchy, and Bar into a margraviate. Hence it has been evidently ſeen how Bar comes to be held of the empire. Pont-a-Mouſſon is alſo made a marquiſate. All this country is at length called The Empire.

Charles IV. goes to Italy to be crowned; rather like a pilgrim than an emperor.

1355. The holy ſee was at this time ſituated at Avignon, pope Innocent VI. having but little credit at Rome, the emperor ſtill leſs. The empire was no more than a name, and the coronation an idle ceremony. He either ought to have gone to Rome like Charlemagne and Otho the Great, or elſe he ought not to have gone at all.

Charles IV. and Innocent VI. fond of ceremonies. Innocent VI. ſent to Avignon a detail of all that was neceſſary

neceſſary to be obſerved at the coronation of the emperor. He appointed the nuncio from Rome to carry the ſword before him, which is only an honour, and no mark of juriſdiction. The pope is to be on his throne ſurrounded by his cardinals, and the emperor is to begin by kiſſing his feet; after which he preſents him gold, ſalutes him, &c. During the maſs, the emperor performs ſome duties in the rank of a deacon. He receives the imperial crown at the end of the firſt epiſtle. After maſs, without either crown or cloak, he holds the bridle of the pope's horſe.

None of theſe ceremonies have been practiſed ſince the popes reſided at Avignon. The emperor at length acknowledged in writing the authenticity of theſe cuſtoms; but the pope, then at Avignon, finding it impoſſible either to have his feet kiſſed at Rome, or his bridle held by the emperor, declared that prince ſhould neither kiſs his feet, nor guide the mule of the cardinal who repreſents his holineſs.

Charles IV. went to this ſhew with a large retinue, but unarmed; nor did he dare to ſleep in Rome, according to the promiſe he had made to his holineſs. Ann his wife, daughter to the count Palatine, was alſo crowned; and indeed this empty pomp was rather the vanity of a woman, than the triumph of an emperor. Charles IV. having neither men nor money, and coming to Rome only to ſerve as deacon to a cardinal's maſs, was inſulted in every town in Italy through which he paſſed *.

There is a famous letter from Petrarch to the emperor, reproaching him with his weakneſs. Petrarch was worthy of teaching Charles IV. to think nobly.

Charles

* Nothing could be more puſillanimous than the behaviour of this emperor. He ſneaked out of Rome on pretence of going a-hunting. There was an attempt made to burn him in his lodgings at Piſa, where part of his retinue were maſſacred by the populace. Many towns, attached to the intereſts of the empire, ſhut their gates againſt him. At Cremona, he was obliged to wait without the walls two long hours for the anſwer of the magiſtrates, who at length permitted him to enter as a ſimple ſtranger, without arms or retinue.

Charles IV. acts in every thing contrary to his predeceſſors: they had favoured the Ghibelins, who were in effect the faction of the empire: he marches ſome forces againſt them, countenancing the Guelphs, whereby he only increaſes the troubles of Italy. 1356.

At his return into Germany he applied himſelf, as much as poſſible, to eſtabliſh order, and regulate rank.

The number of electorates had been fixed ſince the time of Henry VII. more by cuſtom than by laws, but not the number of electors. The dukes of Bavaria, above all, pretending a right to vote, as well as the count Palatine, the elder branch of their houſe; and the younger brothers of the houſe of Saxony believed themſelves electors as well as the elder.

In the diet of Nuremberg, Charles IV. deprives the duke of Bavaria of his right to vote, and declares the count Palatine the only elector of that houſe.

THE GOLDEN BULL.

THE twenty-three firſt articles of the Golden Bull are publiſhed at Nuremberg with great ſolemnity. This conſtitution of the empire, the only one which the public calls a Bull, takes its name from a little gold box * in which the ſeal is contained, and is eſteemed as a fundamental law.

It could only be eſtabliſhed among men by the laws of convention. Thoſe which long cuſtom has ſanctified, are called fundamental. Several things in this Golden Bull have been altered according to the times.

It was compoſed by the famous civilian Bartolus. The genius of the times appears in ſome Latin verſes to be found in the exordium: *Omnipotens æterne Deus, ſpes unica mundi:* as well as in the apoſtrophe to the ſeven mortal ſins; and in the neceſſity of having ſeven electors, becauſe of the ſeven gifts of the holy Ghoſt, and the candleſtic with ſeven branches.

The

* It was ſo named from a little golden ſeal named BULLA.

The emperor, at firſt, ſpoke like an abſolute maſter without conſulting any perſon.

" We declare and ordain by this preſent edict, which ſhall continue to all perpetuity, from our certain knowledge, abſolute power, and imperial authority."

He does not therein eſtabliſh the ſeven electors; he ſuppoſes them eſtabliſhed. There is no mention in the two firſt chapters about the form and ſecurity of the journey of the ſeven electors, who are not to go to Frankfort without declaring to the world and to Chriſtians a temporal ſovereign; that is to ſay, a king of the Romans, or future emperor.

They afterwards ſuppoſe, N° 8. article the 2d, that this cuſtom has been always inviolably obſerved; " and moreover that which is above written has been inviolably obſerved." Charles IV. and Bartolus forget that they had often elected emperors in another manner, beginning from Charlemagne, and ending with Charles IV. himſelf. One of the moſt important points is the indiviſibility of the right of electing, which by hereditary right paſſes, in the male line, always to the eldeſt ſon.

It ought then to have been ordained, that the ſecular electorates be no more divided, but deſcend wholly to the eldeſt ſon. This is what was omitted in the twenty-three famous articles publiſhed at Nuremberg, ſo very oſtentatiouſly, the emperor attending the publication, with a ſceptre in one hand, and the globe of the world in the other. Very few things are attended to in that bull; neither is there any method obſerved, nor the particulars of the general government of the empire in the leaſt treated of.

A moſt important thing is expreſſed in the 7th article of N° 7. that is, if one of the electoral principalities becomes vacant to the profit of the empire (undoubtedly the ſecular principalities are underſtood) the emperor has the diſpoſal of it, as of a thing fallen legally to him and to the empire. Theſe confuſed words point out that the emperor can take as his own an electorate, when the line is either extinct or attainted. The particular favour ſhewn to Bohemia is alſo remarkable in this

this bull, the emperor being king of Bohemia. It is the only country whence there can be no appeal to the imperial chamber. This right *de non appellando* has ſince been granted to divers princes, and contributed to make them much more powerful.

The reader may conſult the golden bull for the remainder.

The finiſhing hand is put to the golden bull at Mentz; where, during the Chriſtmas, ſeven chapters are added to it. They repair the inadvertent omiſſion of making the electoral ſucceſſions indiviſible. That which is moſt clear and evident in theſe articles, is the reſpect paid to pomp and vanity. It is plain to be ſeen, that Charles IV. takes delight in making the electors officiate as menials in open court.

The emperor's table three feet higher than that of the empreſs; and hers three feet above thoſe of the electors; a heap of oats lying before the door of the dining-hall; a duke of Saxony coming on horſeback to take a peck of oats from this heap; in fine, all this oſtentation was far from reſembling the majeſtic ſimplicity of Rome's firſt Cæſars.

A modern author ſays, that they have not derogated from the laſt article of the golden bull, ſince all the electors ſpeak French: yet it is in this preciſely that they have derogated; for it is ordained by the laſt article, that the electors learn Latin and Sclavonian, as as Italian. Now few of the electors value themſelves upon ſpeaking the Sclavonian.

The whole bull was at length publiſhed at Mentz, when there was a very full court, and the electors attended the emperor and empreſs at table, each man in his function. It was not for ſuch ſolemnities as theſe, that princes did theſe high offices; originally they were officers of the houſhold, who had, in time, become great princes.

That Charles IV. was no friend to either the houſes of Bavaria or Auſtria is plain, from the exclu-
1357. ſion of their reſpective dukes in the golden bull. The firſt conſequence of this pacific regulation was a civil war. The dukes of Bavaria and Auſtria raiſe

raiſe troops. They beſiege one of the emperor's commiſſaries in Danuſtauſſen. The emperor arrives at that place; he can diſſolve the league between Auſtria and Bavaria no other way, but by given up Danuſtauſſen to the elector of Bavaria, inſtead of the right to a vote, which he demanded.

There is a great conteſt in the empire on account of phalburghers or falſe burghers. A conteſt, in which it is very likely the authors have been miſtaken. The golden bull ordains, that no burghers belonging to any particular prince ſhall be received in the imperial towns, to withdraw from their ſovereign, unleſs they become reſidents in theſe towns. Nothing is more juſt, nothing more eaſily to be fulfilled. For certainly a prince will over-rule the diſobedience of one of his own burghers, under pretence of his being admitted a citizen of Baſil or Conſtance.

Why then ſuch diſſenſions about theſe falſe burghers at Straſburg? why were they in arms? can Straſburg, by any example, ſupport a ſubject of Vienna to whom it had given his freedom, and will it be admitted at Vienna? Undoubtedly no. This is certainly one of the moſt important and moſt ſacred affairs. Sovereigns would deprive their ſubjects of the firſt great right all men have, to chuſe their dwelling-place. They fear their dominions will be quitted for the free towns. This then is the emperor's reaſon for commmanding the people of Straſburgh to receive no ſtrangers on the footing of citizens; this is the reaſon that the citizens of Straſburgh endeavour to preſerve themſelves in that right, which peoples and enriches a town.

Charles IV. with all this appearance of grandeur, formerly a warrior, at preſent a law-giver, and maſter of a rich and beautiful country, 1358. has nevertheleſs ſcarcely any credit in the empire; becauſe nobody wiſhed he ſhould.

When the emperor endeavoured to incorporate Luſatia and Bohemia, Albert of Auſtria, who has ſome demands on Luſatia, ſuddenly makes war on him, while no one perſon aſſiſts him: and he has no way of getting quit of this affair but by a ſtratagem, and that a very

a very baſe one; it is pretended that he deceived the duke of Auſtria by ſpies; and that he afterwards paid theſe ſpies in falſe money: this ſtory wears the air of a fable, but it is a fable founded on his character.

He ſells privileges to all the towns; to the count of Savoy, he ſells the title of vicar of the empire at Geneva; he for a certain ſum confirms the liberty of the town of Florence; and he extorts conſiderably from Venice for the ſovereignty of Verona, Padua and Vicenza, but the Viſcomtis pay him moſt dearly for having the hereditary power in Milan, under the title of governor. Thus it is pretended that the empire, which he bought wholeſale, he ſold by retail.

The princes of the empire, excited by the univerſities of Germany, repreſent to Charles IV. 1359. that in the bull of Clement V. there are many things diſhonourable both to him and the Germanic body; that among others, it is expreſſed, that the emperors are the Popes vaſſals, and an oath of fidelity is preſented to them: Charles, who had lived long enough to know theſe ſlight forms need only be attended to, when ſupported by force of arms, complains to the Pope, leſt he ſhould irritate the Germanic body; but in a very moderate ſtile, for fear of irritating the Pope: Innocent IV. gives for anſwer, that this propoſition is become a fundamental law of the Church, taught in all the ſchools of divinity; to back this anſwer, he ſends a biſhop of Cavaillon from Avignon to Germany, to demand one tenth of all the eccleſiaſtical revenues, for the Pope's maintenance.

The biſhop of Cavaillon returns to Avignon, after having received ſtrong complaints inſtead of money. The German clergy exclaim againſt the Pope; and this was one of the firſt ſparks of that revolution in the Church which we now ſee.

A reſcript of Charles IV. in favour of the clergy, protecting them againſt ſuch princes as would prevent them from meddling with worldly wealth, and bargaining with the laity.

Charles IV. while making regulations in Germany, abandons Italy: the Viſcomti ſtill continue maſters of Milan; Barnaby is willing to pre- 1360.

ſerve

ſerve Bologna, which his uncle, a warlike and politic archbiſhop, had bought for twelve years.

A Spaniſh legate, called d'Albornos, enters the town in the name of the Pope, who continues ſtill at Avignon, and gives Bologna to the Pope.

Barnaby Viſcomti beſieges Bologna: how can one credit, at this day, that the holy father promiſed by agreement, to pay one hundred thouſand livres in gold annually, for five years, to be maſter of Bologna? the hiſtorians who repeat ſuch exaggerations are certainly but little acquainted with the true value of 500,000 livres in gold.

The ſiege of Bologna is raiſed, without being any expence to the Pope: a marquis of Malateſta, who had thrown himſelf with ſome troops into the town, makes a ſally, beats Barnaby, and cauſes him to retreat homewards: the emperor meddles no other way in this affair, than by an effectual reſcript in favour of the Pope. 1361.

A war having broke out between the crown of Denmark, on the one hand, and the Hans-towns on the other, is terminated as uſual by treaty.

Several of the Hans-towns treat with Denmark at Lubec, in the terms of a crowned head, a glorious monument of liberty, founded on reſpectable induſtry. Lubec, Roſtoc, Stralſund, Hamburg, Wieſmar, Bremen, and ſeveral others, form a perpetual peace with the "king of Denmark, of the Goths and Vandals; the princes, merchants and freemen of his kingdom:" theſe are the words of the treaty, which prove that Denmark was free, and the Hans-towns ſtill more ſo. 1362.

The empreſs Anne having been brought to-bed of Winceſlaus, the emperor ſends the weight of the child in gold, to our lady at Aix; a cuſtom which began then to be eſtabliſhed, and has been puſhed to an extravagant exceſs for our lady of Loretto.

The biſhop of Straſburg, purchaſes at a very dear rate, the title of landgrave of Lower Alſatia; he is oppoſed by the landgraves of Alſatia, of the houſe of Oettingen,

Oettingen, and purchaſes his peace, as he did his title, with money.

A great diviſion between the houſes of Bavaria and Auſtria, cauſed by a woman. Margaret of Carinthia, widow of Henry the Old, duke of Bavaria, ſon of the emperor Lewis, foe to the houſe into which ſhe married, gives all her rights upon Tirol and its dependencies, to Rodolphus, duke of Auſtria.

Stephen, duke of Bavaria, makes alliance with ſeveral princes: the Auſtrian has no perſon of his party, but the archbiſhop of Saltzburg; they conclude a three years treaty, but their ſecret enmity is more laſting.

Charles IV. as ſedentary now, as he had been active in his youth, remains always at Prague. Italy is entirely abandoned; each lord there, buys the title of vicar of the empire.

1363.

Barnaby Viſcomti ſtill bears a grudge to Bologna, and is maſter of many towns in Romagna.

The Pope, at that time, Urban V. obtains very eaſily from the emperor, ineffectual orders to the vicar of the empire. It is related, that Barnaby at length ſells his poſſeſſions in Romagna, for 500,000 florins of gold to the Pope; but was it eaſy for Urban at Avignon, to find ſuch a ſum?

It is alſo related, that Charles intended to turn the Danube by Prague; more incredible ſtill than the Pope's 500,000 florins: the water muſt be brought over the mountains, barely to make a canal from the Danube to Moldau in Bohemia; and beſides, it depends on the houſe of Bavaria, which commands the courſe of the river. Charlemagne's project of joining the Danube and the Rhine in a flat country was much more practicable.

1364.

A plague that broke out in France, amidſt the terrible wars of Edward III. and Philip de Valois, ſpreads itſelf into Germany: ſeveral vagabonds who had deſerted from theſe armies, which were ill paid, and as badly diſciplined, joining with other rogues, make excurſions into Lorrain and Alſatia, where they find all the paſſes open; they are called

1365.

called *Malandrins* *, never welcome, &c.: the emperor is forced to march againſt them upon the Rhine, with the troops of the empire; they are driven thence, they ravage France and Holland, like locuſts, laying waſte all before them, without any diſtinction.

Charles IV. viſits pope Urban V. at Avignon: he endeavours a holy war, rather to prevent the Turks, who had already taken Adrianople, from oppreſſing Chriſtianity, than to recover Jeruſalem.

A king of Cyprus, who beholds the danger more nearly, ſolicits this holy war alſo at Avignon: ſeveral cruſades had been purſued from time to time, when the Muſſulmans were ſcarcely formidable in Syria, but now that Chriſtianity is ſhaken, they are laid aſide.

The Pope, after having propoſed the cruſades with proper decorum, makes a ſerious treaty with the emperor for the ſurrender of his uſurped patrimony to the holy ſee: he grants to the emperor the tenths upon the clergy of Germany; Charles IV. can ſerve himſelf by going to Italy, to recover the proper dominions of the emperor, and not to ſerve the Pope.

The Malandrins return again upon the Rhine, and commit devaſtations even to the gates of Avignon; this is one of the reaſons that oblige Urban V. to take ſhelter in Rome; after the Popes had been for ſixty-two years retired to the borders of the Rhone. The Viſcomtis, more dangerous than the Malandrins, poſſeſs all the openings of the Alps: they had invaded Piedmont, and threatened Provence. Urban having only the emperor's word for aſſiſtance, embarks on board a galley belonging to the guilty and unfortunate Joan queen of Naples. 1366.

The emperor excuſes himſelf from aſſiſting the Pope, to be a ſpectator of the war made in the Tiroleſe, between the houſes of Auſtria and Bavaria; and pope Urban V. after having made ſome uſeleſs alliances with Auſtria and Hungary, gives at length a ſight of a Pope to the Romans, on the 16th 1367.

* MALANDRON is a Spaniſh word, moſt uſed in romances, ſignifying a robber, from MAL and ANDER, evil-going.

of October; he is received only as the firſt biſhop of Chriſtianity, and not as a ſovereign.

The town of Friburg in Briſgau, which had endeavoured to gain its freedom, falls again into
1368. the power of the houſe of Auſtria, by the ceſſion of a count Egnon, who had taken it under his protection, and withdraws it for twelve thouſand florins.

The re-eſtabliſhment of the Popes at Rome does not prevent the Viſcomtis ruling in Lombardy; where they were near reviving a monarchy more powerful and extenſive than that of the antient Lombards.

The emperor goes at laſt into Italy to the aſſiſtance of the Pope, or rather indeed to that of the empire; he had a formidable army, in which there was ſome artillery.

This frightful invention began now to be eſtabliſhed; it was as yet unknown among the Turks, againſt whom it had been employed; they had been eaſily driven out of Europe, but Chriſtians as yet only uſe it againſt Chriſtians.

To ſupport the faith in Italy, the Pope on one ſide wins the duke of Auſtria, on the other, the emperor, each with a puiſſant army; it was this ſort of conduct that loſt the liberty of Italy, nay of the Pope himſelf: it has been the fatality of this beautiful but unhappy country, that the Popes have ſtill called in ſtrangers to their aid, who would, if poſſible, have carried it away with them.

The emperor pillages Verona, the duke of Auſtria, Vicenza; the Viſcomtis immediately ſue for peace, to wait better times; the war ends in a ſum given to Charles, who goes to Rome to be conſecrated, according to the uſual ceremonies.

A diet at Frankfort: a ſevere edict forbidding the towns and princes from making war of them-
1369. ſelves; the edict is no ſooner publiſhed, than the biſhop of Hildeſheim, and Magnus, duke of Brunſwic, having each many lords of his party, are involved in a bloody war.

It

It could ſcarcely happen otherwiſe, in a country where the very few good laws are without force; and this continual anarchy ſerves as an excuſe for the emperor's inactivity; he ought to hazard every thing, or remain altogether quiet, and he chooſes the latter.

Urban V. having brought the Auſtrians and Bohemians into Italy, who returned home loaden with ſpoil, now calls in the Hungarians againſt the Viſcomtis; there wanted only Turks.

The emperor, to ward off this fatal blow, reconciles the Viſcomtis with the holy ſee.

Waldemar, king of Denmark, expelled Copenhagen by the king of Sweden and by the count of Holſtein, takes refuge in Pomerania: he aſks 1370. aſſiſtance of the emperor, who gives him letters of recommendation; he applies to pope Gregory XI. who returns him exhortations, and menaces of excommunication; writing to him as to his vaſſal: it is pretended Waldemar anſwered him thus:

"My life I hold of God; my crown of my ſubjects, my eſtates of my anceſtors, my faith only of your predeceſſors, which, if you have a mind to make uſe of it, I ſend you back by theſe preſents." This letter is ſurely apocryphal.

King Waldemar re-enters his dominions, without any aſſiſtance, by the diſunion of his enemies.

Germany, tho' as yet in a ruſtic ſtate, nevertheleſs poliſhes Poland: Caſimir, to whom had been given the ſurname of Great, begins to build 1371. ſome towns after the German faſhion, and introduces ſome laws of Saxon right into his own country, which wants laws.

A particular war between Winceſlaus, duke of Luxemburg and Brabant, brother to the emperor, and the dukes of Juliers and of Gueldres; in which all the lords of the Low-Countries take part.

Nothing more ſtrongly characterizes the fatal anarchy of theſe times of rapine: the ſubject of this broil was a troop of highwaymen, protected by the duke of Juliers: and unhappily ſuch an example was not uncommon in thoſe days.

Winceſlaus, vicar of the empire, willing to puniſh the duke of Juliers, is defeated and taken in battle.

The conqueror, fearing the emperor's reſentment, haſtens to Prague, accompanied by many princes, and, above all, by his priſoner: "I return you, ſaid he, to the emperor, your brother; forgive me both."

One ſees many events of theſe times, thus intermixed with robbery and heroiſm.

The edicts againſt theſe wars having proved ineffectual, a new diet at Nuremberg ordains, that no prince or town ſhould for the future make war before the expiration of ſixty days from the receipt of the offence; this was called the ſixtieth law of the empire, and was always duly obſerved, when more than ſixty days were requiſite to prepare for attacking the enemy.

1372.

For a long time paſt, the affairs of Naples and Sicily have had no connection with thoſe of the empire: the iſle of Sicily was at preſent occupied by the houſe of Arragon, and Naples by queen Joan; both, at this time, were fiefs; the houſe of Arragon had ſubmitted, by treaty, ever ſince the Sicilian veſpers, to hold it of the crown of Naples, which was held of the holy ſee.

1373.

The view of the houſe of Arragon in paying a vain homage to the crown of Naples, was to become independent of the Roman court, and had ſucceeded therein when the Pope was at Avignon.

Gregory XI. ordains, that the king of Sicily ſhall henceforth pay homage to the king of Naples and the Pope at the ſame time: he revives the antient law, or rather proteſt, diſabling the king of Sicily or Naples, from ever being emperor; and adds, that theſe kingdoms ſhall be incompatible with thoſe of Tuſcany and of Lombardy.

Charles abandons all his affairs in Italy; entirely taken up with enriching himſelf in Germany, and eſtabliſhing his houſe; he buys the electorate of Brandenburg from Otho of Bavaria, who poſſeſſed it, to appropriate it to himſelf and his family; this caſe was not ſet down in the golden bull: he at length gives this

electorate

electorate to his eldeſt ſon Winceſlaus, afterwards to a younger, Sigiſmund.

The holy ſee had been long at Avignon: Urban V. dies, when at Rome but a very little time: Gregory XI. determines to re-eſtabliſh the popedom in his native country. 1374.

Such princes and towns as ſtood poſſeſſed of the counteſs Mathilda's eſtates, enter into an alliance againſt the Pope, who was willing to return into Italy. The moſt part of the towns, at length, ſet up their ſtandards, and over their gates the great word, *Libertas*, as it is yet to be ſeen at Lucca.

The Florentines began to act in the ſame manner in Italy, as the Athenians had formerly done in Greece: all the polite arts, that were intirely unknown before, revive at Florence: the factions of Guelphs and Ghibelins, during the diſturbances they created in Tuſcany, had ſtirred up genius and courage; it was liberty elevated them: this people was the moſt reſpectable, and leaſt ſuperſtitious, of any in Italy, and the leaſt inclined to obey either the Popes or emperors: pope Gregory excommunicated them: it was a little ſtrange, that theſe excommunications, to which they had been ſo often accuſtomed, ſhould ſtill make ſome impreſſion. 1375.

Charles procures his ſon Winceſlaus to be proclaimed king of the Romans at Mentz, upon the Rhine, the ſame place where he himſelf had been choſen. 1376.

All the electors are there in perſon; his ſecond ſon Sigiſmund aſſiſts, as elector of Brandenburg, tho' but a child; the father having lately transferred that title from Winceſlaus to Sigiſmund: he had, for his own part, his voice of Bohemia; five electors were then to be gained: it is ſaid, and many hiſtorians aſſure us of it, that he promiſed to each, one hundred thouſand florins of gold: it is not at all likely, that each received the ſame ſum; neither is it likely, that the five princes were mean enough to receive it; indiſcreet enough to talk of it; or that the emperor ſhould boaſt of his having corrupted the votes.

So

So far was he from giving money to the elector Palatine, that he ſold to him at the ſame time Ghottenburg, Falkenburg, and other domains; he alſo ſold, indeed at a very indifferent price, ſome of the royal prerogative to the electors of Cologne and of Mentz; thus did he gain money, and ſpoiled the empire in ſecuring it to his ſon.

Charles IV. aged 64, undertakes a journey to Paris, and it is added, that it was to have the conſo-
1377. lation of ſeeing the king of France, Charles V. who loved him tenderly, and the reaſon of this tenderneſs for a monarch that he had never ſeen, was his having eſpouſed formerly, one of his aunts; another reaſon alledged for this journey, is his being afflicted with the gout, and his having promiſed *Mr. St. Maurus*, a ſaint in the neighbourhood of Paris, to make a pilgrimage to him, on horſeback, for his cure: the true reaſon was diſguſt, uneaſineſs, and a cuſtom in thoſe days eſtabliſhed, for princes to viſit each other. He goes at length from Prague to Paris, accompanied by his ſon Winceſlaus king of the Romans; he ſcarcely ſees a finer country than his own from the frontiers to Paris; Paris deſerves not his curioſity; the old palace of St. Lewis, which ſtill ſubſiſts, and the caſtle of the Louvre, which is no more, are not worth the trouble of the journey: in Tuſcany only, they were emerging from barbarity, nor had architecture been as yet reformed.

If there was any thing ſerious in this journey, it was the office of the vicar of the empire, in the antient kingdom of Arles, which he gave to the Dauphin: it was a long time a queſtion among the civilians, whether Dauphiny ought to be always held of the empire; but it has not, a great while ſince, been one among ſovereigns: it is true, that the laſt Dauphin Humbert, in ceding Dauphiny to the ſecond ſon of Philip of Valois, ceded it with the ſame right with which he poſſeſſed it. It is moreover true, that they pretend Charles IV. himſelf had renounced all his rights; but yet they were not the leſs inſiſted upon by his ſucceſſors. Maximilian the firſt, always claimed the dependence of Dauphiny; but this right muſt have been very little minded, ſince

Charles

Charles V. in obliging Francis I. his priſoner, to cede Burgundy to him by the treaty of Madrid, makes not the leaſt mention of the homage due to the empire, on account of Dauphiny: all the ſequel of this hiſtory ſhews how time changes rights.

A French gentleman, named Enguerant de Couci, makes uſe of the emperor's journey to France, to preſer a very ſtrange requeſt, that of making war upon the houſe of Auſtria; he was great grandſon of the emperor Albert of Auſtria by his mother, the daughter of Leopold: he demanded the eſtates of Leopold, as not being maſculine fiefs; the emperor grants him entire permiſſion; he never conſidered, how it was poſſible for a private gentleman of Picardy to levy an army. Couci, nevertheleſs, has one pretty conſiderable, furniſhed by his relations and friends; by the reigning ſpirit of heroiſm, by ſome of his patrimony which he ſold, and by the hope of plunder, which engages many people in extraordinary undertakings. 1378.

He marched towards ſuch parts of Alſatia and Switzerland, as belong to the houſe of Auſtria, but not having wherewithal to pay his troops, and ſome contributions gathered about Straſburg, not being ſufficient to enable him to keep the field any long time, his army ſoon diſperſed, and his project was at an end. The fate of this gentleman was no more than what happens to all great princes, even now, who raiſe forces too haſtily.

The beginning of the great SCHISM in the West.

GREGORY XI. at length, after having ſeen Rome in 1377, and brought back the pontifical ſee from Avignon, where it had been ſettled ſeventy-two years, dies on the 27th of March, anno Domini, 1378.

The Italian cardinals now prevail, and chooſe an Italian Pope; it was Prignano, a Neapolitan, a man fierce and impetuous; he takes the name of Urban: Prignano

Prignano Urban, in his firſt conſiſtory, declared he would do juſtice on Charles V. king of France, and Edward III. king of England, who diſturbed the peace of Europe: cardinal de la Grange, ſhaking his hand at him, anſwered him, that "He lied:" two words that plunge Chriſtianity in a war of more than thirty years continuance.

Moſt of the cardinals, irritated at the Pope's violent and intolerable temper, retire to Naples, declare the election of Prignano Urban as forced and void; and chooſe Robert, ſon of Amadeus III. count of Geneva, who aſſumes the name of Clement; and eſtabliſhes an anti-roman ſee at Avignon: Europe is divided; the emperor and Flanders join the latter, Hungary, which belongs to the emperor, acknowledges Urban.

France, Scotland and Savoy, are for Clement: one may eaſily judge, by the ſide taken by each power, that all acted upon intereſted principles: the name of a Pope is but a word of raillery.

Queen Joan of Naples acknowledges Clement, becauſe ſhe had been formerly protected by France, and becauſe this unfortunate queen had called Lewis of Anjou, brother of Charles V. to her aſſiſtance.

Winceſlaus duke of Luxemburg, dying without iſſue, leaves all his fiefs to his brother, and after him to Winceſlaus king of the Romans.

The emperor Charles IV. dies ſoon after; leaving Bohemia with the empire to Winceſlaus, Brandenburg to his ſecond ſon Sigiſmund, Luſatia and the two duchies of Sileſia, to John his third ſon.

It happens, notwithſtanding the golden bull, that he has benefited his family much more than Germany.

End of the eight VOLUME.

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